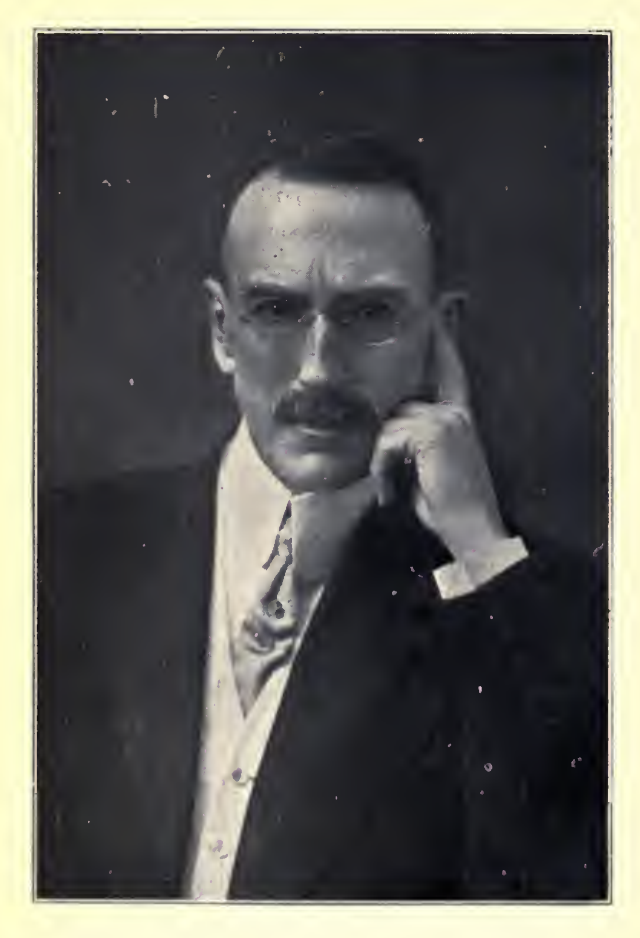


RECENT EXPLORATIONS IN PALESTINE

Including the Story of the Discovery of Kadesh-Barnea, the "Lost Oasis" of the Sinaitic Peninsula

By CAMDEN M. COBERN, D.D., LITT. D.
Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa.


SEAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
LET THERE BE LIGHT
1868



Camden M. Cobern

RECENT EXPLORATIONS IN THE HOLY LAND

AND

KADESH-BARNEA

The "Lost Oasis" of the Sinaitic Peninsula

BY

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DISCOVERIES IN PALESTINE.

INTRODUCTION.

This booklet tells the story of modern discoveries in Palestine; discoveries so recent that they have not to any great extent, as yet, found their way into the magazines or even into Sunday School literature; discoveries so thrilling that they ought to be used by every Bible teacher and preacher of the Gospel in his attempts to win attention to the Book of Books.

It was the good fortune of the writer to go to Egypt 1912-1913 under the auspicies of the Egypt Exploration Fund and after the work there was finished to follow the track of the Israelites from Egypt to Palestine through Mt. Sinai and in the Spring of 1913 to make an extensive examination of all the excavations recently carried on in the Holy Land.

The story of the "Sacred Ibis Cemetery and Jackal Catacombs" which were opened by our party at Abydos, Egypt, has been told by the writer in the National Geographic Magazine, September, 1913, (translated by Monsieur V. Forbin for *L'Nature* of Paris, July, 1914.) Other discoveries made in Egypt that year have been recounted by me in popular form in a series of articles to the Homiletic Review (New York and London) running from December, 1913 to May, 1914, and I am under great obligation to Funk & Wagnalls Co. for permission to use in this booklet some of the illustrations used in those articles and also to incorporate here the story of Kadesh Barnea and other paragraphs which first appeared in that Review·

I also wish to express my warm thanks to the Howard-Severance Company of Chicago for their cordial permission to reproduce here, with certain abbreviations and modifications, the article on "Recent Explorations in Palestine" which I had contributed to their "International Standard Bible Dictionary," just published. If it had not been for the kindness of the two great publishing houses just mentioned this little book could not have appeared at all, because of the labor involved in preparing my larger work for the press.

No one can properly tell of the excavations in Palestine who has not had some practical experience in field work among the graves of Egypt or elsewhere. It was only because of the results of Egyptian exploration that the hills of Palestine were recognized as being of artificial construction and it was only because of the ceramic and chronological results obtained in Egypt that the excavations in Palestine could be understood.

No one could find as many beautiful and wonderful things as the staff of the Egypt Exploration Fund has discovered in Egypt in the last few years without being better prepared to appreciate the contemporaneous civilization, not greatly inferior, in the nearby Land of Canaan. Only one who was trained in the examination of ancient ruins—as Dr. Petrie, who opened the modern work in Palestine, was—could have been able to read the broken hieroglyphs of those clay walls and shattered pots.



STAIRCASE LEADING TO "JACKAL CEMETERY" WHERE DR. COBERN WAS WORKING, WINTER 1912–13.



WORK AT THE OSIREION. BOYS EMERGING FROM THE CUTTING TO EMPTY THEIR BASKETS INTO THE CARS. BEHIND IS THE VILLAGE OF EL'ARABU AND THE PROMONTORY OF EL'AMRAH.

What romance lies behind the hard dull work of the excavator! I have known Dr. Petrie to forget both dinner and supper in the excitement of strange discoveries.

Even the uncovering of those sacred birds and animals in Egypt last year, unimportant as it was compared with other discoveries, yet made each day a dream of surprise equal to anything recorded in the Arabian Nights. To find as we did that those sacred ibises were as carefully mummified as royal princesses and that their clay sarcophagi, were in many instances as well made as those used for child burials in Palestine and elsewhere; to find that the burial wrappings were more carefully tailored and as handsomely and elaborately designed as the shrouds of the royal Pharaohs themselves; to find that in numbers of instances even the color of the cloth was still perfectly preserved and that the difficult and loving decorations were worked upon these "shrouds" by fingers so expert in fine needle work that there was probably a special guild of undertakers or tailors long trained for this purpose; to find such loving homage for this image of the god that even the feathers were carefully gathered up and put in mummy form—all these strange and unexpected observations made those days at Abydos memorable.

To be sure there would be little romance in ordinary excavation unless there was a vivid scientific imagination behind it. To be awakened early in the morning by the monotonous chant of the native diggers; to go to work oneself after

a quick breakfast and to keep at it until dark with only a short interval for lunch; to spend the hot hours of each day on one's hands and knees carefully brushing sand or grave-dust from shattered pottery and broken mummies—perhaps poisonous with a burial of millenniums; to spend four hours at a stretch in a jackal hypogeum where the stench is so great that one risks asphyxiation as he enters it; to dig for days, perhaps for weeks, without finding any specimen worth carrying away but only undated bones of people who lived a naked life and were buried without tablet or vase or offering; to find endless graves of this sort and walls of sun dried bricks which seem to lead no where and mean nothing; to spend evening after evening making the entries of the day's "finds" showing the exact dimensions and direction of each wall however unimportant and the exact spot and depth at which each object was found with an exact description of it however fragmentary or small or poor—all this does not seem to the ordinary observer particularly romantic.

But when one glad day the lucky pick drops a slice of earth and discloses a string of silver or jeweled beads worthy of Tiffany but dating from an era three centuries before the time of Moses, or a wonderful "soul-house" which shows exactly the character of dwelling in which the ancient Egyptian of the middle class lived at the time when the Great Pyramid was being built, or an ivory carving beautiful as can now be found in Paris studios, or an inscription which

discloses the very soul throbs of the men who lived in the age of the Hebrew prophets who lived and died in the fruitless search for religious peace without knowledge of the true God; or to find a large well built pre-dynastic furnace with the charcoal yet lying around its thirteen pots just as its owner left it before the days of Mena over 5,000 years ago; or to discover a pre-dynastic tomb, as the writer did, and take out of it vases and bowls of rare workmanship which had been made nearly as many centuries before the epoch of Moses as we are after it—this or something like this which must sometime come to every excavator, and which in God's good time did come to the excavators at Abydos last year, most surely brings the exhilaration of romance into the dull commonplace round of ordinary existence. Certainly we who worked in Egypt last winter and those who worked in Palestine a few winters before need to be glad; for we have opened up some new chapters, or at least new verses, in the history of the human race.

The discoveries during the last dozen years in the Holy Land are so epoch making in their testimony concerning the historic and social conditions during Bible times that they deserve to be put on the same level with the better known excavations in Egypt and Babylonia. Even the last half dozen years have made possible such new insight into the life of Palestine during the mon-

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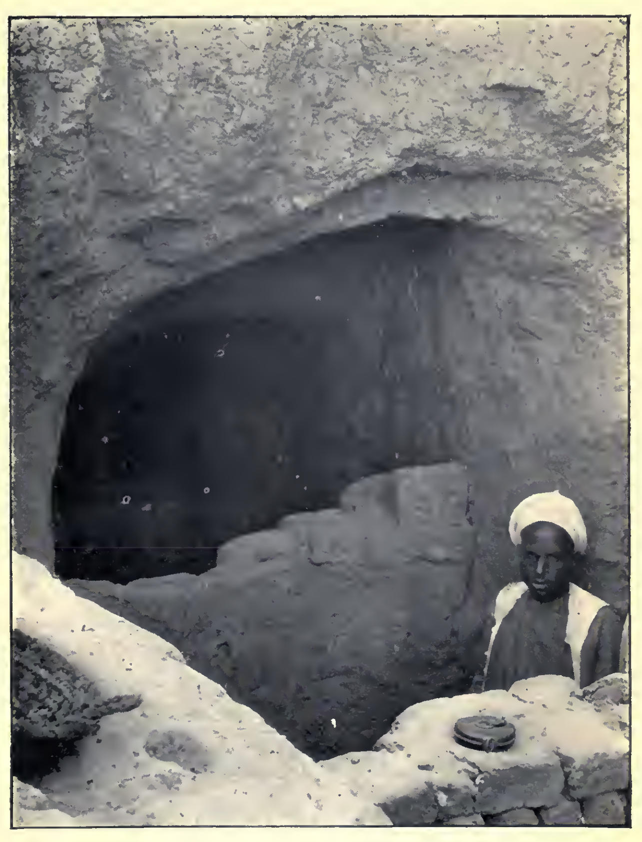
*(For a full narrative of all discoveries in all lands which have thrown light upon the scriptures, see my forthcoming book—"The New Archaeological Discoveries and the Bible.")

archy and even earlier that the time seems almost ripe for an archaeological commentary on the historic narratives of Scripture.

Yet nothing has been discovered to what might have been realized if the societies at work in Egypt and Palestine had been adequately supported. These great exploring societies depend for their success wholly upon voluntary contributions and when these contributions cease, the work must cease. It seems to the writer that every one interested in Bible study ought to honor himself by joining one of these learned societies and thus by his annual contribution have a personal part in assisting the excavators who are doing more than any other body of men in illustrating and confirming the truth of the Biblical records. God Himself has honored the work of these men by bringing out of these buried cities a new Book of Revelation in which may be read a new proof obtained from documents contemporary with the Holy Scriptures, conclusively showing that the teachings of Moses and the Prophets did actually and historically contain a unique "revelation" to the ancient world.

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*(As Honorary Secretary of the Egypt Exploration Fund, the author would be glad to receive membership applications ($5.00) and in addition to what is usually sent to such members he would be pleased to send one of the little clay cups dating from about the era of Moses which he found near Abydos. These cups were used by the ancient worshipper in making offerings of oil or grain to the deity. They were poor people's offering cups and are evidences of the sense of sin and human need among the vast native population which was contemporaneous with Moses and the prophets.)



ENTRANCE TO JACKAL CAVE WHERE DR. COBERN WAS WORKING, WINTER 1913.



THE WELL AT EL BOURG WHERE DR. COBERN'S PARTY WAS SURROUNDED BY 300 ARABS

RECENT EXPLORATION IN PALESTINE.

Previous to the last century, almost the entire stock of knowledge concerning ancient Palestine, including its races, laws, languages, history and manners, was obtained from Josephus and the Bible, with a few brief additional references given by Greek and Roman authors; knowledge concerning modern Palestine was limited to the reports of chance travelers. The change has been due largely to the compelling interest taken in sacred history and the "Holy Oracles." This smallest country in the world has aroused the spirit of exploration as no other country has or could. It has largely stimulated many of the investigations carried on in other lands.

I. ERA OF PREPARATION.

Much direct information concerning ancient Palestine, absolutely essential to the success of modern exploration in that land, has come through discoveries in other countries; but due in many cases to Biblical influence. All the most important Hebrew and Greek Manuscripts and versions of the Bible, and most of the Jewish Talmud and Apocryphal and Wisdom books were found outside of Palestine. The pictures

of its population, cities, fortresses and armies found in Egypt and Babylon give a color and perspective to its ancient history far more vivid than can be found on any of its own contemporary monuments.

The records of Thothmes III (15th century before Christ) describing the capture of Megiddo in the plain of Esdraelon with its vast stores of chariots wrought with gold, bronze armor, silver and ebony statues, ivory and ebony furniture, etc., and of his further capture of 118 other Canaanitish towns, many of which are well known from the Bible, and from which he takes an enormous tribute of war materials, golden ornaments and golden dishes "too many to be weighed," find no parallel in any indigenous record—such records even if written having been doomed to perish because of the soil, climate and character of the rocks west of the Jordon.

So 1400 years before Christ, the Tell el-Amarna tablets (discovered in 1887) mention by name many Biblical cities, and give much direct information concerning the political and social conditions at that period, with at least six letters from the governor of Jerusalem, who writes to the Pharaoh news that the Egyptian fleet has left the coast, that all the neighboring cities have been lost to Egypt, and that Jerusalem will be lost unless help can be had quickly against the invasion of the Khabiri.

The literature of the 19th Dynasty contains many Hebrew names with much informa-

tion concerning Goshen, Pithom, Canaan, etc., while in one huge stele of Menephthah the Israelites are mentioned by name. Later Egyptian Pharaohs give almost equally important knowledge concerning Palestine, while the Assyrian texts are even more direct, the black obelisk of Shalmaneser II (9th century B. C.) cataloguing and picturing the tribute received from Jehu. Almost every king of the 8th century tells something of his relations with the rulers of Jerusalem or Damascus, throwing immense light on local politics, and the later Babylonian records give vividly the conditions previous to and during the exile, while the edict of Cyrus gives the very decree by virtue of which the Jews could return to their native land. Later discoveries, like the Laws of Hammurabi at Susa (1901), the Sendjirli and other Aramaic texts from Northern Syria (1890, 1908), and the Elephantine papyri, some of which are addressed to the "sons of Sanballat" and describe a temple in Egypt erected to Yahu (Jehovah) in the 5th century before Christ, may not give direct information concerning Palestine, but are important to present explorers because of the light thrown upon the laws of Palestine in Patriarchal times; upon the thought and language of a neighboring Semitic community at the time of the Monarchy; upon the religious ritual and festivals of Nehemiah's day, and upon the general wealth and culture of the Jews of the 5th century; opening up also for the first time the intimate relations which existed between Jerusalem

and Samaria and the Jews of the Dispersion.

So the vast amounts of Greek papyri found recently in the Fayyum not only have preserved the "Logia" and "Lost Gospels" and fragments of Scripture texts, early Christian Egyptian ritual, etc., but have given scholars for the first time contemporaneous examples of the colloquial language which the Jews of Palestine were using in the 1st century, A. D., and in which they wrote the "memoirs" of the Apostles and the Gospels of Jesus.

EARLY CHRISTIAN PERIOD.

At this time, during the first three or four centuries the ancient sites and holy places were identified, giving some valuable information as to the topographical memories of the earlier church. By far the most valuable of these carefully prepared summaries of ancient Bible places with their modern sites, and the distances between them, was the Onomasticon of Eusebius, as it was enlarged by Jerome, which attempted seriously the identification of some 300 holy places, most of these being vitally important for the modern student of the Bible. While some of these identifications were "curiously incorrect" (Bliss) and the distances even at the best only approximate, yet few satisfactory additions were made to the list for 1,500 years, and it was certainly a splendid contribution to Palestinian topography, for the list as a whole has been confirmed by the scientific conclusions of recent investigators.

PERIOD OF CURSORY OBSERVATION.

The earliest traveler who has left a record of his journey into Palestine was Sinuhit, who, perhaps a century after Abraham mentions a number of places known to us from the Bible and describes Canaan, as a land of figs and vines, where wine was more plentiful than water, honey and oil in abundance, and all kinds of fruit upon its trees, barley and spelt in the fields, and cattle "beyond number;" each day his table is laden with "bread, wine, cooked flesh and roasted fowl—wild game from the hills and milk in every sort of cooked dish" (Breasted, *"Ancient Records,"* 1,496.)

A few other Egyptian visitors (1,300-1,000 B. C.) add little to our knowledge. The report of the Hebrew spies (Numbers XIII) records important observations, although they can only humorously be called "genuine explorers" (Bliss), and Joshua's list of cities and tribes, although their boundaries are carefully described (Chapters 13-21), are naturally excluded from this review.

The record of early Christian travel begins with the Bordeaux Pilgrim (332 A. D.) and during the next two centuries scores of others write out their observations in the Holy Land, but for 1,000 years there is scarcely a single visitor who looks at the country except through the eyes of the monks. A woman traveler of the 4th century reports some interesting facts about the early ritual of the

Jerusalem church and the catechumen teaching, and surprises us by locating Pithom correctly (although the site was totally forgotten and only recovered in 1883) and the "Epitome of Eucherius" (5th century) gives a clear description of the places in Jerusalem; but almost the only other significant sign that anyone at this era ever made serious observations of value comes from the very large fine mosaic of the 6th century recently discovered at Madeba, which gives a good impression of ancieent Jerusalem with its buildings especially the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, its walls and gates, and fine straight streets lined with colonnades intersecting the city, and even gives a mind's eye view of the country as it could be seen from Mt. Nebo.

By the middle of the 6th century, the old "Holy Places" were covered by churches, while new ones were manufactured or discovered in dreams, and relics of martyr's bones began to engross so much attention that no time was left in which to make any ordinary geographical or natural-history observations. A little local color and a few facts in regard to the plan of early churches and the persecution of Christians by Moslems constitute almost the sum total of value to be gathered from the multitude of pilgrims between the 6th and 12th centuries. In the 12th century John of Wurzburg gives a few geographical notes of value; Theoderich notices certain inscriptions and tombs, describes accurately the churches and hospitals he visits, with

their pictures and decorations, and outlines intelligently the boundaries of Judaea and the salient features of the mountains encompassing Jerusalem; the Abbot Daniel notices the wild beasts in the Jordan forests and the customs at church feasts, and his account is important because of the light it throws on conditions in Palestine just after its conquest by the Crusaders, while in the 13th century Burchard of Mt. Zion makes the earliest known mediaeval map of Palestine, mentions over 100 Scripture sites and shows unexpected interest in the plant and animal life of the country—but this practically exhausts the valuable information from Christian sources in these centuries.

The Moslem pilgrims and writers from the 9th to the 15th century show far more regard to geographical realities than the Christians. It is a Moslem, Istakhri, who in the 10th century makes the first effort at a systematic geography of Palestine, and in the 10th and 13th centuries respectively, Mukadasi, after 20 years of preparation, and Gukut, in a "vast work," published observations concerning climate, native customs, geographical divisions, etc., which are yet valuable, while Nasir-i-khusran, in the 11th century, also gave important information concerning Palestinian botany, gave dimensions of buildings and gates, and even noticed to some extent the ancient arches and ruins—though in all these there are pitiful inaccuracies of observation and induction.

One of the best Moslem writers thinks the

water of Lake Tiberius is not fit to drink because the city sewerage has ceased to flow into it, and Christian writers from the 7th century down to modern times continually mention the Jor and Dan as two fountains from which the Jordan rises, and continually report the most absurd stories about the Dead Sea and about its supernatural saltness, never noticing the salt mountain near by and the other simple causes explaining this phenomenon.

In the 14th century Marino Sanuto gave a "most complete monograph" (Ritter) of Palestinian geography, his maps really valuable, though according to modern standards, quite inaccurate. The Jew, Mose Ha-Pardu, in this same century, advanced beyond all Christian writers in a work of "real scientific knowledge" (Bliss) in which he correctly identified Megiddo and other ancient sites, though the value of his work was not recognized for 400 years.

In the 16th century travelers showed more interest in native customs, but the false traditional identification of sites was scarcely questioned; the route of travel was always the same, as it was abſolutely impossible to get East of the Jordan and even a short trip away from the caravan was dangerous.

In the 17th century Michal Nau, for 30 years a missionary in Palestine, De LaRoque and Hallifix showed a truly scientific veracity of observation and an increasing accuracy in the recording and verification of their notes, and Maundrell advanced beyond all his predecessors in noticing

the antiquities on the sea cost, north of Beirut; but all of these, though possessing fine qualities as explorers, were forced to travel hastily and limit their study to a very narrow field.

II. ERA OF SCIENTIFIC EXPLORATION.

1. Period of Individual Enterprise.

True scientific exploration opened with the 18th century as men began to think of this, as itself an important life work and not merely as a short episode in a life devoted to more serious pursuits.

Th. Shaw (1722) carefully fitted himself as a specialist in natural history and physical geography and scientifically reported a number of new facts, *e.g.* conditions and results of evaporation, etc., in the Dead Sea. Bishop Pococke (1738) had been well trained, was free from the bondage of tradition, and did for the antiquities of Palestine what Maundrell had done for those of Syria, making a large number of successful identifications of sites and contributing much to the general knowledge of Palestine. Volney (1783) was a brilliant literary man, in full sympathy with the scientific spirit, who popularized results and made a considerable number of original researches, especially in the Lebanon.

Seetzen (1800-7) and Burckhardt (1810-12) are called by Bliss "veritable pioneers in the exploration of the ruins of Eastern and Southern Palestine." The former opened Caesarea Philippi to light, visited a large unexplored district

and made important observations in almost every field of knowledge, zoology, meteorology, archæology, etc.; the latter having become an Arab in looks and language, was able to go into many places where no European had ventured, one of his chief triumphs being the discovery of Petra and the scientific location of Mt. Sinai.

THE CLIMAX OF INDIVIDUAL EXPLORATION.

The climax of the era of scientific observation unassisted by learned societies, was reached by the American clergyman and teacher, Edward Robinson. He spent parts of two years in Palestine (1838 and 1852) and in 1856 published 3 volumes of Biblical Researches. He strictly employed the scientific method, and showed such rare insight that scarcely one of his conclusions has been found incorrect. His knowledge was as extensive as minute, and although he gave, in all only five months of steady labor to the specific task of exploration, yet in that time he "reconstructed the map of Palestine" (Bliss), and his conclusions henceforth "formed the ground work of modern researches" (Conder). He studied Jerusalem, being the first to show that the ancient fragment of an arch (now "Robinson's") had been part of the bridge connecting the temple with Mt. Zion, and was the first to trace with accuracy the windings of the tunnel leading from the Virgin's Fount to the Pool of Siloam. All Judaea, Galilee and Samaria

were well covered by him. He was the first to notice that the ruined building at Tell Hum was a synagogue; from the top of one hill he recognized seven Biblical sites which had been lost for at least 1500 years; he identified correctly at least 160 new sites, almost all being Biblical places.

Robinson's results were phenomenal in number and variety, yet necessarily these have been constantly improved upon or added to in each generation since, for no man can cover the entire field or be a specialist in every department. Wm. Thompson in his "Land and the Book" (New ed., 1910) and G. E. Post in "Flora of Syria, Palestine and Sinai" (1896) gave a needed popular resume of the manners, customs and folk lore of the people, as these illustrated the Bible, and many books and articles since have added to this material.

In 1848 the United States sent an expedition under Lieutenant Lynch to the Dead Sea, which ascertained the exact width, depth, currents, temperature, etc, and many parties since have increased this knowledge. From 1854 to 1862 de Vogue thoroughly examined the monuments of Central Syria and remained the sole authority on this section down to the American Archaeological Expedition of 1899. Tabler (1845-63) scientifically described Jerusalem and its environs, and the districts lying between Jaffa and the Jordan between Jerusalem and Bethel. Guerin who sudied Palestine during periods

covering 23 years (1852-75) though limited by lack of funds, covered topographically, with a minuteness never before attempted, almost the whole of Judaea, Samaria and Galilee, gathering also many new monuments and inscriptions, the record of which was invaluable because many of these had been completely destroyed before the arrival of the next scientific party.

A most sensational discovery was that of Rev. Klein in 1868, when he found at Dibon the huge basalt tablet set up by Mesha, king of Moab, (9th century B. C.), on which in a language closely resembling the Hebrew, he gave honor to his god Chemosh by describing his successful revolt against a successor of Omri, the latter being mentioned by name with many well-known Biblical places. In style, thought and language this inscription greatly resembles the early Old Testament records.

2. Scientific Co-operative Surface Exploration.

With the foundation of the Palestine Exploration Fund (1865) the work of exploration took on an entirely new phase, since in this case not a single individual, but a large company of specialists entered the work, having behind them sufficient funds for adequate investigation in each necessary line of research and with the British War Office furnishing its expert Royal Engineers to assist the enterprise.

Under the auspices of this society during the next 15 years Jerusalem was explored as never

before, and all Western Palestine was topographically surveyed (see below); a Geological Survey (1883-84) of Sinai, Wady Arabah and the Dead Sea, and later of Mt. Seir (1885) was accomplished under Professor Edward Hull; the natural history of the country was treated with great thoroughness by several specialists; Palmer and Drake in the dress of Syrian natives, without servants, risked the dangerous journey through the Desert of the Tih in order to locate so far as possible the route of the Exodus; Clermont-Ganneau, who had previously made the discovery of the Jewish placard from the temple, forbiding strangers to enter the sacred enclosure, added greatly to archaeological knowledge by gathering and deciphering many ancient inscriptions, uncovering buried cemeteries, rock-cut tombs and other monuments. He also laid down important criteria for the age of stone masonry, identified various sites, including Adullam, found the "stone of Bethphage," "Zoheleth," etc, and made innumerable plans of churches, mosques, tombs, etc, and did an incredible amount of other important work. Captain afterwards Colonel Conder did an equally important work, and as the head of the archæological party could finally report 10,000 place-names as having been gathered, and 172 new Bible sites successfully identified, while the boundaries of the tribes had been practically settled and many vitally important Bible locations for the first time fixed. The excavations in

Jerusalem under the same auspicies had meanwhile been carried out as planned. After an introductory examination by Sir Charles Wilson, including some little excavating, Sir Charles Warren (1867-70) and later Colonel Conder (1872-75) made thorough excavations over a large era, sinking shafts to a depth of 80-150 feet and following ancient walls. They uncovered the Temple-area from its countless tons of debris and traced its approximate outline; examined underground rock chambers; (*e. g.* proving Solomon's Stables to be a comparatively late construction); opened ancient streets, finding the manholes leading to ancient sewers; discovered many thousand specimens of pottery, glass, tools, etc. from Jewish to Byzantine periods; found the pier in the Tyropean Valley where Robinson's arch had rested as it projected from the Temple and also parts of the ancient bridge; traced the line of several important ancient walls, locating gates and towers, and fixed the date of one wall certainly as of the 8th century B. C. and probably of the age of Solomon (G. A. Smith): thus accomplishing an epoch-making work upon which all more recent explorers have safely rested. Maudslay (1875) in his masterly discovery and examination of the great scarp, and Guthe (1881) who made fine additional discoveries at Ophel, as well as Warren and Conder in their work afterwards (1884) when they published plans of the whole city with its streets, churches, mosques, etc. 25 inches to the mile,

which in that direction remains a basis for all later maps.

Perhaps however, the greatest work of all done by this society was the Topographical Survey (1881-86), accomplished for Judaea and Samaria by Colonel Conder, and for Galilee by Lord Kitchener, resulting in a great map of Western Palestine in 26 sheets, on a scale of an inch to the mile (with several abridged additions), showing all pievious identifications of ancient places. These maps, with the seven magnificent volumns of memoirs, etc, giving the other scientific work done by the various parties, marked such an epoch-making advance in knowledge that it has been called "the most important contribution to illustrate the Bible since its translation into the vulgar tongue."

In addition to the above the Palestine Exploration Fund established a Quarterly Statement and "Society of Biblical Archaeology" from which subscribers could keep in touch with the latest Biblical results, and published large quanties of translations of ancient texts and travels and of books reporting discoveries as these were made. Altogether more advance was made during these 15 years from 1865-80 than in the 15 centuries before.

3. Most Recent Results in Surface Exploration.

The next ten years (1880-90) did not furnish as much new material from Palestine exploration but in 1880 the Siloam Inscription (cf. 11 Kings XX:20; 11Ch. XXIX:30) was accidental-

ly found in Jerusalem, showing the accuracy with which the engineers of Hezekiah's day could, at least occasionally, cut long tunnels through the rock. King Hezekiah by getting this good water supply was better able to save Jerusalem from the Assyrian invaders. During 1881-1885 Conder and Schumacher attempted their difficult task of making a scientific topographical map of Eastern Palestine. In 1881 H. Clay Trumbull rediscovered and properly described Kadesh-barnea, settling authoritatively its location and thus making it possible to fix previously obscure places mentioned in the account of the Exodus wanderings. (See below.)

Since 1890 continued investigations in small districts not adequately described previously, have taken place, new additions to the zoological, botanical and geological knowledge of Palestine have been frequent; studies of irrigation and the water supply have been made; many districts east of the Jordan and through Petra down into Sinai have yielded important results, and many discoveries of surface tombs, and hidden manuscripts have been made in Palestine. This has been done perhaps chiefly by the Palestine Exploration Fund but much by individuals and some by the newly organized excavation societies.

The most surprising discoveries made by this method of surface exploration (a method which can never become completely obsolete) have been the finding at different times of the four

"Boundary Stones" of Gezer (1874, 1881, 1889) by Clermont-Ganneau, and in 1896 of the very large mosaic at Madeba by Father Cleopas, librarian of the Greek Patriarch.

The latter proved to be part of the pavement of a 6th century basilica and is a "veritable map of Palestine," showing its chief cities, the boundaries of the Tribes, and especially the city of Jerusalem with its walls, gates, chief buildings, including the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and chief streets, notably one long straight street intersecting the city and lined with colonnades. As Madeba lies near the foot of Mt. Nebo it is thought the artist may have intended to represent ideally a modern (6th century) vision of Moses. George Adam Smith ("Historical Geography" 7th Edition 1901; "Jerusalem" 2 Volumes, 1910) and E. Huntington ("Palestine and its Transformation" 1911) have given fine studies illustrating the supreme importance of accurate topographical knowledge in order to understand correctly the Bible narratives and the social life and politics of the Hebrews.

III. ERA OF SCIENTIFIC EXCAVATION.

(1.) *Tell el Hesy.*

Exploration must always continue, but excavation is a vast advance. The modern era in Palestinian study begins with Petrie at Lachish in 1890. Though Renan was actually the first man to put a spade into the soil (1860), yet his results were confined to Aradus, Byblos, Sidon

and Tyre. From Renan's time to 1890 there had been no digging whatever, excepting some narrow but thorough work in Jerusalem and a slight tickling of the ground at Jericho and at the so-called Tombs of the Kings. Nothing was more providential than this delay in beginning extensive excavations in Palestine such as had been previously so profitably conducted in Egypt and elsewhere. The results could not have been interpreted even two years earlier, and even when these excavations were commenced, the only man living who could have understood what he found was the man who had been selected to do the work. Nearly two centuries before, a traveler in Palestine (Th Shaw) had suggested the possibility of certain mounds ("Tells") being artificial (Josh. 8:25; Fer. 30:18); but not even Robinson or Guerin had suspected that these were the cenotaphs of buried cities, but had believed them to be mere natural hills.

The greatest hour in the history of exploration in Palestine and perhaps in any land, was that in which on a day in April, 1890, W. M. Flinders Petrie climbed up the side of Tell el-Hesy situated on the edge of the Philistine plain, 30 miles southwest of Jerusalem and 17 miles northeast from Gaza, and by examining its strata, which had been exposed by the stream cutting down its side, determined before sunset the fact, from pieces of pottery he had seen, that the site marked seven cities covering 1,000 years of history, the limits of occupation being

probably 1500 B. C. to 500 B. C. This ability to date the several occupations of a site without any inscription to assist him, was due to the chronological scale of styles of pottery which he had originated earlier and worked out positively for the Greek epochs at Naukratis a year or two before, and for the epochs preceding 1100 B. C. at Illahun in the *Fayyum* only a month or two before. The potsherds were fortunately very numerous at *Tell el Hesy* and by the end of his six weeks' work he could date approximately some eight successive occupations of the city, each of these being mutually exclusive in certain important forms of pottery in common use. Given the surface date, depth of accumulation and rate of deposit as shown at Lachish, and a pretty sure estimate of the history of other sites was available. Not only was this pottery scale so brilliantly confirmed and elaborated at *Tell el-Hesy* that all excavators since have been able to accurately date the last settlement on a mound almost by walking over it; but by observations of the methods of stone dressing he was able to rectify many former guesses as to the age of buildings and to establish some valuable architectural signs of age.

He proved that some of the walls at this site were built by "the same school of masons which built the Temple of Solomon," and also that the Ionic volute, which the Greeks borrowed from the Asiatics went back in Palestine at least to the 10th century B. C. while on one pilas-

ter he found the architectural motif of the "ram's horn" (P 111:27) He also concluded, contrary to former belief, that this mound marked the site of Lachish, (Joshua 10 31; 2K 18 14), as by a careful examination he found that no other ruins near could fill the known historic conditions of that city, and the inscription found by the next excavator and all more recent research make this conclusion practically sure. Lachish was a great fortress of the ancient world. The Egyptian Pharaohs often mention it and it is represented in a picture on an Assyrian monument under which is written "Sennacherib .... receives the spoil of Lachish" (11Kings XVIII:14). It was strategically a strong position, the natural hill rising some 60 feet above the valley and the fortification which Sennacherib probably attacked being over 10 feet thick. The debris lay from 50-70 feet deep on top of the hill. Petrie fixed the directions of the various walls and settled the approximate dates of each city and of the imported pottery found in several of these. One of the most unexpected things was an iron knife dug up from a stratum indicating a period not far from the time when Israel must have entered Canaan, this being centuries older than the earliest iron weapon ever previously found (compare Joshua XVII:16.)

The next two years of scientific digging (1891-92) admirably conducted by Dr. F. G. Bliss on this site wholly confirmed Petrie's gen-

eral inductions, though limits of each occupation were more exactly fixed and the beginning of the oldest city was pushed back to 1700 B. C. The work was conducted under the usual dangers, not only from the Bedawin, but excessive heat (104 degrees in the shade), from malaria, which at one time prostrated eight of the nine members of the staff, scarcity of water, which had to be carried six miles, and from the sirrocco (see my report P. E. F. S. XXI:160-170; Petrie's and Bliss' journals XXI:219-246; XXIII:192.)

He excavated thoroughly one-third of the entire hill, moving nearly a million cubic feet of debris. He found that the wall of the oldest city was 17 feet thick, while the latest wall was thin and weak. The oldest city covered 1300 feet square, the latest one only 200 feet square. The oldest pottery had a richer color and higher polish than the later, and this art was indigenous, for at this level no Phoenician or Mycenean styles were found. The late pre-Israelitish period (1500-800 B. C.) shows many importations and also local Cypriote imitations. In the "Jewish" period (800-300 B. C.) this influence is lost and the new styles are coarse and ungraceful, such degeneration not being connected with the entrance of Israel into Canaan, as many have supposed, but with a later period, most probably with the desolation which followed the exile of the Ten Tribes (Bliss and Petrie.) In the pre-Israelite cities were found mighty towers, fine bronze implements, such as

battle-axes, spearheads, bracelets, pins, needles, a wine and treacle press, one very large building "beautifully symmetrical," a smelting furnace and finally an inscribed tablet from Zimrida, known previously from *Tell el Amarna* tablets to have been governor of Lachish 1400 B. C.

Many Jewish pit ovens were found in the later ruins and large quantities of pottery, some containing potters' marks and others with inscriptions. Clay figures of Astarte the goddess of fertility, one of these being of the unique Cypriote type, with large earrings, were found in the various layers and many Egyptian figures, symbols and animal forms, and one or more peculiar little idols which both Bliss and Sellin yet think may have been "teraphim" (Gen. 31:8; see Drivers "Modern Research, p. 57.")

(2.) EXCAVATIONS IN JERUSALEM.

During 1894-97, notwithstanding the previously good work done in Jerusalem, (see above) and the peculiar embarrassments connected with the attempt to dig in a richly populated town, Dr. Bliss, assisted by an expert architect, succeeded in adding considerably to the knowledge. He excavated over a large area, not only positively confirming former inductions, but discovering the remains of the wall of the empress Eudocia (450 A. D.,) and under this the line of wall which Titus had distroyed, and at a deeper level the wall which surrounded the city in the Herodian age, and deeper yet that

which must probably be dated to Hezekiah, and below this a construction "exquisitely dressed, with pointed masonry," which must be either the remains of a wall of Solomon or some other preexilic fortification not later than the 8th century. He found gates and anciently paved streets and manholes leading to ancient sewer systems, and many articles of interest, but especially settled disputed questions concerning important walls and the level of the ancient hills, thus fixing the exact topography of the ancient city.

H. G. Mitchell and others have also carefully examined certain lines of wall, identifying Nehemiah's Dung Gate, etc, and making a new survey of certain parts of underground Jerusalem the results of the entire work being a modification of tradition in a few particulars, but confirmatory in most.

The important springs, reservoirs, valleys and hills of the ancient Jerusalem have been certainly identified. It is now settled that modern Jerusalem "still sits virtually upon her ancient seat and at much the same slope," though not so large as the Jerusalem of the kings of Judah which certainly extended over the southwestern hill. Mt. Zion, contrary to tradition which located it on the southwestern hill where the citadel stands, lay on the eastern hill above the Virgin's Spring (Gihon.) On this eastern hill at Ophel lay the Temple, and south of the Temple on the same hill above "Gihon" lay the old Jebusite stronghold (David's City.) The ancient altar

of burnt offering was almost surely at *es Sakhra*. The evidence has not been conclusive as to the line of the second wall, so that the site of Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre cannot certainly be determined. (See George Adam Smith's exhaustive work "Jerusalem" 2 Volumes 1907; Sir Charles Wilson, "Golgotha and Holy Sepulcher" 1906; and cf. Vincent "Underground Jerusalem" 1912.)

(3.) EXCAVATIONS IN THE SHEPHELAH.

During 1898-1900 important work was done by Bliss and Macalister at four sites on the border land between Philistia and Judea, while five other small mounds were examined but without important results.

The four chief sites were *Tell Zakariya,* lying about midway between Jerusalem and *Tell el Hesy; Tell es Safi,* five miles west of *Tell Zakariya* and *Tell Sandahannah,* about ten miles south; while *Tell ej Judeideh* lay between *Tell Zakariya* and *Tell Sandahannah.* As *Tell ej Judeideh* was only half excavated and merely confirmed other results not being remarkable except for the large quantity of jar inscriptions found (37) we omit further mention of it.

(a) *Tell Zakariya.* From this height, 1214 feet above the sea, almost all Philistia could be seen. A pre-Israelitish town was found under some 20 feet of debris, containing pre-Israelitish, Jewish and Seleucidan pottery. Many vaulted

cisterns, partly hewn from the rock, were found in the lowest level. In later levels Jewish pit ovens were found and inscribed jar handles with winged Egyptian symbols, implements of bronze, iron, bone and stone, and Egyptian images of Bes and the Horus eye, etc. besides a strange bronze figure of a woman with a fish's tail which seems to represent Atargetis of Ashkelon. The ancient rampart was strengthened, perhaps in Rehoboam's time, and towers were added in the Seleucidan era. Only half of this site was excavated.

(b) *Tell es Safi.* The camp was pitched near here in the Vale of Elah. From a depth of 21 feet to the rock was found the characteristic pre-Israelitish pottery and much imported pottery of the Mycenean type. A High Place was also found here containing bones of camels, sheep, cows, etc. and several monoliths of soft limetone *in situ,* and near by a jar burial. In an ancient rubbish heap many fragments of the goddess of fertility was found. Many old Egyptian and later Greek relics were also found and four Babylonian seals and the usual pottery from Jewish and later periods. With strong probability this site was identified as Gath.

(c) *Tell Sandahannah.* This was situated 1100 feet above sea level. The town covered about six acres and was protected by an inner and outer wall and occasional towers. The strongest wall averaged 30 feet thick.

The work done here "was unique in the his-

tory of Palestinian excavation" (Bliss). At *Tell el-Hesy* only one-third of each stratum was excavated; at *Tell Zakariya* only one-half; at Jerusalem the work was confined to the enclosures of the temple, a few city walls and a few churches, pools, streets, etc, but at *Tell Sandahannah* "we recovered almost an entire town, probably the ancient *Mareshah* (Joshua 15:44), its inner and outer walls, its gates, streets, lanes, open places, houses, reservoirs, etc, "(Bliss). Nearly 400 vessels absolutely intact and unbroken were found. It was a Seleucidan town of the 3d and 2d century B. C., with no pre-Israelitish remains. The town was built with thin brick, like blocks of soft limestone, set with wide joints and laid in mud with occasionally larger, harder, stones chisel-picked. The town was roughly divided into blocks of streets, some of the streets being paved. The houses were lighted from the street and an open court. Very few rooms were perfectly rectangular, while many were of awkward shape. Many closets were found and pit ovens and vaulted cisterns, reached by staircases, as also portions of the old drainage system. The cisterns had plastered floors, and sometimes two heavy coats of plaster on the walls: the houses occasionally had vaulted roofs, but usually the ordinary roof of today, made of boards and rushes covered with clay.

No religious building was found and no trace of a colonnade except perhaps a few fragments of ornament. No less than 328 Greek inscrip-

tions were found on the handles of imported wine jars. Under the Seleucidan town was a Jewish town built of rubble, the pottery of the usual kind including stamped jar handles. An Astarte was found in the Jewish or Greek stratum, as also various animal forms. The Astarte was very curious, about 11 inches high ,hollow, wearing a long cloak, but with breasts, body and part of right leg bare, having for a headdress a closely fitting sunbonnet with a circular serrated top ornamented in front and with seven stars in relief.

A most striking find dating from about the 2d century A. D. was that of 16 little human figures bound in fetters of lead, iron, etc, undoubtedly representing "revenge dolls" through which the owners hoped to work magic on enemies, and 49 fragments of magical tablets inscribed in Greek on white limestone, with exorcisms, incantations and imprecations. It ought to be added that the four towns as a whole supplement each other and positively confirm former results. No royal stamps were found at *Tell el-Hesy*, but 77 were found in these four sites, in connection with 2 or 4 winged symbols (Egyption scarabei or winged sun-discs). Writing materials (*styli*) were found in all strata, their use being "continuous from the earliest times into the Seleucidan period" (Bliss).

From the four towns the evolution of the lamp could be traced from the pre-Israelite, through the Jewish to the Greek period. Some

150 of the labyrinthan rock-cut caves of the district were also examined, some of which must be pre-Christian, as in one of these a million cubic feet of material had been excavated, yet so long ago that all signs of the rubbish had been washed away.

(4) PAINTED "TOMBS OF MARISSA."

In 1902 John P. Peters and Herman Tiersch discovered at *Beit Jibrin* adjoining *Tell Sandahannah* an example of sepulchral art totally different from any other ever found in Palestine. It was a tomb built by a Sidonian, the walls being brilliantly painted, showing a bull, panther, serpent, ibex, crocodile with ibis on its back, hunter on horseback, etc, with dated incriptions, the earliest being 196 B. C. Nothing shows the interrelations of that age more than this Phoenician colony, living in Palestine, using the Greek language but using Egypt and Libyan characteristics freely in their funereal art (see John P. Peters, *Painted Tombs in Necropolis of Marissa,* 1905.)

The writer had the special good fortune in 1913 to discover another of these strange tombs in the same locality. The most prominent feature of the decoration was a figure resembling a cross surrounded by a garland of flowers and a cock. Both of these symbols were used before the Christian era yet it perhaps remains possible that we here possess a Christian grave in which the artist copied the style of the older heathen

decorations, but included only such symbols as had a special meaning for Christians. The cross to the Phoenician could have been merely a decorative ornament. The cock as "herald of the dawn" probably symbolized to both heathen and Christian the hope of a future life.

(5) *Tell to'Annek.* (Excavated by Austrian Gov. and Vienna Academy). During short seasons of three years (1902-4) Professor Ernst Sellin, of Vienna made careful examination of this town (Bib. *Taanach*), situated in the plain of Esdraelon in Northern Palestine, on the ancient road between Egypt and Babylon. Over 100 laborers were employed and digging was carried on simultaneously at several different points on the mound, the record being kept in an unusually systematic way and the official reports being minute and exhaustive. Only a general statement of results can be given, with an indication of the directions in which the "findings" were peculiar.

The absence of Phoenician and Mycenean influence upon the pottery in the earliest levels (2000-1600 B. C.) is just as marked as at other sites, the kind of pottery and presence of Semitic *maccebhahs* in the Jewish periods is just as in previous sites, and the development in mason work and in pottery is identically the same in this first city to be excavated in Northern Palestine as it had been in Southern Palestine. "The buildings and antiques might be interchanged bodily without any serious confusion

of the archaeological history of Palestine...... Civilization over all Western Palestine is thus shown to have had the same course of development, whether we study it north or south "(Macalister). This is by far the most important result of this excavation, showing that notwithstanding divergences in many directions, an equivalent civilization, proving a unity in the dominating race, can be seen over all parts of Palestine so far examined. Iron is introduced at the same time (cir. 1000 B. C.) and even the toys and pottery decorations are similar, and this continues through all the periods, including the Jewish. Yet foreign intercourse is common, and the idols, even from the earliest period, "show religious syncretism" (Sellin)). From almost the oldest layer came a curious seal cylinder containing both Egyptian and Babylonian features. On one pre-Israelite tablet were pictures of Hadad and Baal.

The Astarte cult was not quite as prominent here as in Southern Palestine. No figures of the goddess came from the earliest strata, but from 1600 B. C. to 900-800 B. C. they were common; after this they ceased. The ordinary type of Astarte found in Babylonia and Cyprus as well as in Palestine—with crown, necklace, girdle, anklets, and hands clasped on breasts—was found most fequently; but from the 12th to the 9th century other forms appeared representing her as naked, with hips abnormally enlarged, to show her power of fecundity. One figure was

of a peculiarly foreign type, wearing excessively large earrings, and this was in close connection with one of the most unique discoveries ever made in Palestine—a hollow terra-cotta Canaanite or Israelite altar (800-600 B. C.), in its ornamentation showing a mixture of Babylonian and Egyptian motives having on its right side winged animals with human heads by the side of which is a man (or boy) struggling with a serpent the jaws of which are widely distended in anger; at its top two rams' horns, and between them a sacrificial bowl in which to receive the "drink offering"; on its front a tree (of life), and on each side of it a rampant ibex. A bronze serpent was found near this altar, as also near the high place at Gezer.

Continuous evidence of the gruesome practice of foundation sacifices, mostly of little children, but in one case of an adult, is found between the 13th and 9th centuries B. C., after which they seem to cease. In one house a lady and five children were found, the former with her rings and necklace of gold, five pearls, two scarabs, etc. Many jar burials of new-born infants, 16 in one place, were found, and close to this deposit a rock-hewn altar with a jar of yellow incense(?). Egyptian and Babyonian images were found at different eras and curious little human-looking amulets (as were also found at Lachish) in which the parental parts are prominent, which Sellin, Bliss and Macalister

believe to be "teraphim" such as Rachel, being pregnant, took with her to protect her on the hard journey from Haran to Palestine.

The high place, with one or more steps leading up to it, suggesting "elevation, isolation and mystery" (Vincent), is represented here as in so many other Palestinian ruins, and the evidence shows that it continued long after the entrance of Israel into Canaan. When Israel entered Palestine no break occurred in the civilization, the art development continuing at about the same level; so probably the two races were at about the same culture-level, or else the Hebrew occupation of the land was very gradual. In the 8th century there seems to be an indication of the entrance of a different race, which doubtless is due to the Assyrian exile.

A most interesting discovery was that of the dozen cuneiform tablets found in a terra cotta chest or jar (Jer. 32 16) from the pre-Israelite city.

These few letters cannot accurately be called "the first library found in Palestine"; but do prove that libraries were there, since the personal and comparatively unimportant character of some of these notes and their easy and flowing style prove that legal business and literary documents must have existed. These show that not only was letter-writing used in great questions of state between foreign countries, but in local matters between little contiguous towns, and that while Palestine at this period (1400 B. C.)

was politically dependent on Egypt, yet Babylonia had maintained its old literary supremacy. One of these letters mentions "the finger of Ashirat," this deity recalling the *asherah* or sacred post of the Old Testament; another note is written by Ahi-Yaw, a name which corresponds to the Hebrew Ahijah ("Jehovah is Brother"), thus indicating that the form of the Divine name was then known in Canaan, though its meaning,(i. e. the essential name, cf. Exodus 6 3; 34 6; Nehemiah 1 9; Jeramiah 44 26), may not have have been known. Ahi-Yaw invokes upon Ishtar-washur the blessing of "the Lord of the Gods".

On the same level with these letters were found two subterranean cells with a rock-hewn chamber in front and a rock-hewn altar above. and even the ancient drain which is supposed to have conveyed the blood from the altar into the "chamber of the dead" below. It may be added that Dr. Sellin thinks the condition of the various walls of the city is entirely harmonious with the Bible accounts of its history (Joshua 12 21 ; 17 11; Judges 1 27; 5: 19-21; 1K 4 12; 9 15; 14 25). So far as the ruins testify there was no settled city life between 600 B. C. and 900 A. D. i. e. it became a desolation about the time of the Babylonian captivity. An Arab castle dates from about the 10th century A. D.

(6) *Tell el Mutesellim* (Megiddo; Joshua XII:21; Judges V:19; II Kings IX:27).

This great commercial and military center of Northern Palestine was opened to the world 1903-5 by Dr. Schumacher and his efficient staff, the diggings being conducted under the auspicies of His Majesty the Kaiser and the German Palestine Society. The mound, five miles northwest from Ta'Annek stood prominently 120 feet above the plain the ruins being on a prominent plateau. An average of 70 diggers were employed for the entire time. The debris was over 33 feet deep, covering some eight mutually excluding populations. The surrounding wall, 30-35 feet thick, conformed itself to the contour of the town. The excavations only reached the virgin rock at one point; but the oldest stratum uncovered showed a people living in houses, having fire, cooking food and making sacrifices; the next city marked an advance, but the third city, proved by its Egyptian remains to go back as far as the 20th century B. C. showed a splendid and in some directions a surprising civilization, the inhabitants surrounding their city with splendid fortifications, building magnificent city gates (57x36 feet). large houses and tombs with vaulted roofs and adorning their persons with fine scarabs of white and green steatite and other jewelry of stone and bronze. It was very rich in colored pottery and little objects such as tools, seals, terra cotta figures and animals, including a bridled horse; some worked iron is also said to have been found. In one pile of bodies were two children

wearing bronze anklets, each one composed of 25 globules.

The city lying above this begins as early as the 15th century B. C. as is proved by a scarab of Thothmes III and by other signs, although the scarabs, while Egyptian in form, are often foreign in design and execution. Anubis, Bes, Horus and other Egyptian figures appear, also 32 scarabs in one pot, much jewelry, including gold ornaments, and some very long, sharp bronze knives. One tomb contained 42 vessels and one skeleton held 4 gold-mounted scarabs in its hand. One remarkable fragment of pottery contained a colored picture of pre-Israelite warriors with great black beards carrying shields. Many amulets, some Astarte figures in bone, a little wooden shrine covered with gold and sacrificial offering plates, still containing parts of the sacrifices, have been preserved. A most interesting discovery was that of the little copper (bronze?) tripods supporting lamps, on one of which is the figure of a flute player, being strikingly similar to pictures of Delphic Oracles and to representations lately found in Crete. (M. N. D. P. V. 1906:46).

This city was destroyed by a fearful conflagration, and is separated from the next by a heavy stratum of cinders and ashes.

The fifth city is remarkable for a splendid palace with walls of stone from 3-5 feet thick. This city which probably begins as early as Solomon's time, shows the best masonry.

An oval highly polished seal of jasper on which is engraved a Hebrew name in script closely resembling the Moabite stone suggests a date for the city and casts an unexpected light upon the Hebrew culture of Palestine in the days of the monarchy. The seal is equal to the best Egyptian or Assyrian work, clearly and beautifully engraved, and showing a climax of art. In the center is the Lion (of Judah?) mouth wide open, tail erect, body tense. Upon the seal is carved:

"To Shema, servant of Jeroboam."

This name may possibly not refer to either of the Biblical Kings (10th or 8th century B. C.) but the stratum favors this dating. The seal was evidently owned by some Hebrew noble at a prosperous period when some Jeroboam was in power, and so everything is in favor of this being a relic from the court of one of these kings, probably the latter. (Kautzsch MuN, 1904:81).

We have here in any case one of the oldest Hebrew inscriptions known and one of the most elegant ever engraved. Upon seeing it the Sultan took it from the museum into his own private collection. A second seal of lapis lazuli, which Schumacher and Kautsch date from about the 7th century B. C., also contains in old Hebrew the name "Asaph." (*Mitteilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palastina-Vereins.* 1904:147; 1906: 334.)

There are several other remarkable works of art, as *e. g.* a woman playing the tambourine,

wearing an Egyptian headdress and several other figures of women besides several Astartes and especially a series of six terra-cotta heads, one with a prominent Semitic nose, another with Egyptian characteristics and another quite un-Egyptian with regular features, vivacious eyes, curls falling to her shoulders and garlanded with flowers.

The sixth stratum might well be called the Temple city for here was found the ruins of a sanctuary built of massive blocks in which remained much of the ceremonial furniture—sacrificial dishes, a beautiful basalt pot with three feet, a plate having a handle in the form of a flower, etc. Seemingly connected with the former town three religous stones were found covered by a fourth and one with a pyramidal top; so here several monoliths were found which would naturally be thought of as religious monuments—though having been touched with tools this is perhaps doubtful. (Exodus XX:25.)

One incense altar carved out of gray stone, is so beautiful as to be worthy of a modern Greek cathedral. The upper dish rests on a support of carved ornamental leaves painted red, yellow and cobalt blue, in exquisite taste, the colors still as fresh as when first applied. A blacksmith's shop was found in this stratum, containing many tools, including iron plow shares, larger than the bronze ones in the 3d and 4th layers. Allegorical figures were found which may possibly belong to the former town, rep-

resenting a man before an altar with his hands raised in adoration, seemingly to a scorpion, above which is a six pointed star, crescent moon, etc.

Another most wonderful seal of white hard stone is engraved with three lines of symbols, in the first a vulture chasing a rabbit; in the second a conventional palm tree with winged creatures on each side; in the third a lion springing on an ibex (?) under the cresent moon. Near by was found a cylinder of black jasper, containing hieroglyphs, and much crushed pottery. The 7th city, which was previous to the Greek or Roman eras, shows only a complex of destroyed buildings. After this the place remains unoccupied till the 11th century A. D., when a poor Arab tower was erected, evidently to protect the passing caravans.

These excavations were specially important in proving the archaeological richness of Palestine and the elegance of the native works of art. They were reported with an unexampled minuteness of accuracy—various drawings of an original design showing the exact place and altitude where every little fragment was found.

(7) EXCAVATIONS AT JERICHO.

During 1908-9, Dr. E. Sellin, assisted by a specialist in pottery (Watzinger) and a professional architect (Langenegger) with the help of over 200 workmen opened to view this famous Biblical city (Joshua 6 1-24). Jericho



MOST ANCIENT WALLS OF JERICHO

(See page 94)



RUINS OF FORTIFICATIONS OF ANCIENT JERICHO.

was most strategically situated at the eastern gateway of Palestine with an unlimited water supply in the *'Ain es-Sultan,* having complete control of the great commercial highway across the Jordan and possessing natural provisions in its palm forest (Geo. Adam Smith). It was also set prominently on a hill rising some 40 feet above the plain. The excavations proved that from the earliest historic time these natural advantages had been increased by every possible artifice known to ancient engineers, until it had become a veritable Gibraltar. The oldest city, which was in the form of an irregular ellipse, somewhat egg-shaped, with the point at the southwest, was first surrounded by a rampart folowing the contour of the hill, a rampart so powerful that it commands the admiration of all military experts who have examined it.

The walls even in their ruins are some 28 feet high. They were built in three sections: (a) a substratum of clay, gravel and small stones, making a deposit upon the rock about 3 or 4 feet deep, somewhat analogous to modern concrete, (b) a rubble wall, 6 to 8 feet thick of large stones laid up to a height of 16 feet upon this conglomerate, the lowest layers of the stone being enormously large; (c) upon all this a brick wall over 6 feet thick, still remaining in places, 8 feet high. Not even Megiddo, famous as a military center throughout all the ancient world shows such workmanship (Joshua 2 1; Numbers 3 28. "These were

masters in stone work and masonry" (*The Builder*"; "taken as a whole it may justly be regarded as a triumph of engineering skill which a modern builder, under the same conditions, could scarcely excel (Langenegger); "it is as well done as a brillient military engineer with the same materials and tools could do today" (Vincent). All the centuries were not able to produce a natural crevice in this fortification. At the north, which was the chief point of danger, and perhaps along other sections also, a second wall was built about 100 feet inside the first, and almost as strong, while still another defence ("the citadel") with 265 feet of frontage, was not only protected by another mighty wall but by a well-constructed *glacis*.

The old pre-Israelite culture in Jericho was exactly similar to that seen in the southern and northern cities, and the idolatry also. In its natural elements Canaanite civilization was probably superior to that of the Hebrews, but the repugnant and ever-present polytheism and fear of magic led naturally to brutal and impure manifestations. It cannot be doubted that, at least in some cases, the infants buried in jars under the floors represent foundation sacrifices. Some of the pottery is of great excellence, comparing favorably with almost the best examples from Egypt; a number of decorative figures of animals in relief are specially fine; the bronze utensils are also good; especially notable are the 22 writing tablets, all ready to be used but not

inscribed. Somewhere near the 15th century the old fortifications were seriously damaged, but equally powerful ones replaced them. The German experts all believed that a break in the city's history was clearly shown about the time when, according to the pottery, Israel ought to have captured the city, and it was confidently said that the distinctively Canaanite pottery ceased completely and permanently at this point; but further research has shown that at least a portion of the old town had a practically continuous existence (Joshua 16 7; Judges 1 16; 3 13; Samuel 10 5). No complete Israelitish house was preserved ,but the Israelitish quarter was located close to the spring and no little furniture of the usual kind was found, including dishes, pots, corn mills, lamps, etc, many iron instruments and terra cotta heads of men and animals. The pottery is quite unlike the old Canaanite, being closely allied to the Greeco-Phoenician ware, of Cyprus. It is noticeable that, as in other Palestinian towns, in the Jewish era, little Babylonian influence is discernible; the Aegean and Egyptian influence is not as marked as in the cities dug up near the Mediterranean coast. One large edifice (60 by 80 feet) is so like the dwellings of the 7th century B. C. at Sendjirli that "they seem to have been copied from Syrian plans" (Vincent).

Absolutely unique was the series of 12 Rhodian jar-handles stamped in Aramaic "To Jehovah" (*Yah, Yahu*). Vincent has suggested

that as during the Monarchy (7th to 6th centuries), "To the King" meant probably "For His Majesty's Service," so in post-exilic time the Divine name meant "For the Temple" (*Rev. Bib.*) After the exile the city had about 3 centuries of prosperity; but disappears permanently in the Maccabean era. (*M. N. D. P. V.*, 1907; *M. D. O. G.*, 1908-09; *P. E. F. S.*, 1910; *Rev. Biblique,* 1907-9).

(HARVARD EXPEDITION.)

(8) EXCAVATIONS AT SAMARIA.

Although the ancient capital of the Northern Kingdom, yet Samaria was centrally located, it being 20 miles from the Mediterranean coast and only about 30 miles north of Jerusalem. Ancient Samaria was very famous in Israel for its frivolity and wealth, special mention being made of its ointments, instruments of music, luxurious couches, and its "ivory palace" (Amos VI:4-6; I Kings XVI:36). Its history is known so fully that the chronological sequences of the ruins can be determined easily. The citadel and town originated with Omri (*cir.* 900 B. C., I Kings XVI:24); the Temple of Baal and palace were constructions of Ahab (I Kings XVI:32; XXII: 39); it continued prosperous down to the Assyrian Exile (722 B. C.; I Kings XX to II Kings XVIII); Sargon and Esarhaddon established a Babylonian colony and presumably fortified the town (720-670 B. C.); Alexander the Great

captured it (331 B. C.) and established there a Syrio-Maccabean colony; it was destroyed by John Hyrcanus (109 B. C.) but rebuilt by Pompey (60 B. C.) and again by Herod (30-1 B. C.) All of these periods are identified in the excavations, Herod's work being easily recognized and Josephus' description of the town being found correct; the Greek work is equally well defined, so that the lower layers of masonry which contained the characteristic Jewish pottery and which in every part of the ruin laid immediately under the Babylonian and Greek buildings, must necessarily be Hebrew, the relation of underlying structures thus being "beyond dispute" (Reisner.)

During 1908-9 George A. Reisner with a staff of specialists, including David G. Lyon of the Harvard Semitic Museum, G. Schumacher and an expert architect, undertook to systematically and thoroughly excavate this large detached "tell" lying 350 feet above the valley and 1450 feet above sea-level, its location as the only possible strategic stronghold proving it to be the ancient Samaria.

This was a "gigantic enterprise" because of the large village of 800 population (Sebastiyeh), and the valuable crops which covered the hill. Some $65,000 were spent during the two seasons and the work finally ceased before the site was fully excavated. The following statement is mainly an abridgement and in so far as possible in their own words of the official report of Drs.

Reisner and Lyon in the Harvard Theological Review. An average of 285 diggers were worked the first season and from 230-260 the second. Hundreds of Arab lamps, etc., were found close to the surface and then nothing more until the Roman ruins. Many fine Roman columns still remain upright, upon the surface of the hill. The road of columns leading to the Forum and ornamental gate (oriented unlike the older gates); the great outer wall "20 stadii in circuit" (Josephus), the hippodrome, etc. were all found with inscriptions or coins and pottery of the early Roman Empire; even the old Roman chariot road leading into the Forum was identified. Adjoining the Forum and connected with it by a wide doorway was a basilica, consisting of a large open stone-paved court surrounded by a colonnade with mosaic floor. An inscription in Greek on an architrave in the court yard dated this to 12-15 A. D.

The plan of the Herodian temple consisted of a stairway, a portico, a vestibule and a cella with a corridor on each side. The staircase was 80 feet wide, composed of 17 steps beautifully constructed, the steps being quite modern in style, each tread overlapping the next lower by several inches. The roof was arched and the walls very massive and covered with a heavy coat of plaster still retaining traces of color. A few Greek *graffiti* were found near here, and 150 "Rhodian" stamped amphora handles and many fragments of Latin inscriptions. A com-

plete inscription on a large stele proved to be a dedication from some Pannonian soldiers (probably 2d or 3d centuries A. D.) to "Jupiter Optimus Maximus." Near this was found a torso of heroic size carved in white marble which is much finer than any ever before discovered in Palestine, the work "bringing to mind the Vatican Augustus" (Vincent) though not equal to it. Close to the statue was a Roman altar (presumably Herodian) about 13 by 7 feet rising in six courses of stone to a height of six feet.

Beneath the Roman city was a Seleucid town (about 300-100 B. C.) with its fortifications, gateway, temple, streets, one great public building and complex of private houses in connection with which was a large bath house, with mosaic floor, hot and cold baths, water closet, etc., which was heated by a furnace. Underneath the Greek walls, which were connected with the well-known red-figured Greek ware of about 400 B. C., were brick structures and very thick fortress walls built in receding courses of small stones in the Babylonian style. In the filling of the construction trench of this, Babylonian steles were found, Israelite potsherds and a Hebrew seal with seemingly Babylonian peculiarities, and one fragment of a cuneiform tablet. Below these Babylonian constructions "there is a series of massive walls beautifully built of large limestone blocks founded on rock and forming a part of one great building which can be no other than the Jewish Palace."

It consisted "of great open courts surrounded by small rooms, comparable in plan with the Babylonian palaces and is certainly royal in size and architecture." "Its massive outlines, which for the first time reveal to the modern world the masonry of an Israelite palace, show that unexpected material resources and technical skill were at the command of the kings of Israel."

An even greater discovery was made when on the palace hill was found an alabaster vase inscribed with the cartouche of Osorkon II of Egypt (874-853 B. C.), Ahab's contemporary, and at the same level, about 75 fragments of pottery, not jar handles but ostraca inscribed with records or memorials in ancent Hebrew. The script is Phoenician and according to such experts as Lyon and Driver practically identical with that of the Siloam Inscription (about 700 B. C.) and Moabite Stone (about 850 B. C.) "The inscriptions are written in ink with a reed pen in an easy flowing hand and show a pleasing contrast to the stiff forms of Phoenician incriptions cut in stone. The graceful curves give evidence of a skill which comes only with long practice." (Lyon). The ink is well preserved. the writing is distinct, the words are divided by dots or strokes and with two exceptions all the ostraca are dated, the reigning king almost certainly being Ahab. The following examples represent the ordinary memoranda:

"In the 11th year. From 'Abiezer. For

'Asa 'Akhemelek (and) Baala. From 'Elnathan(?)".

"In the 9th year. From Jasat. For 'Abinoam. A jar of old wine......"

"In the 11th year, For Badyo. The vineyard of the Tell."

Baal and El form a part of several of the proper names, as also the Hebrew Divine Name, the latter occuring naturally not in its full form YHWH but as ordinarily in compounds YW (Lyon "Harvard Theological Rev." 1911; 136-143; cf. Driver P. E. F. 2, 1911:79-83). In a list of 40 proper names all but three have Biblical equivalents. "They are the earliest speciments of Hebrew writing which have been found, and in amount they exceed by far all known ancient Hebrew inscriptions; moreover they are the first Palestinian records of this nature to be found" (In addition to references given above see especially "Harvard Theological Rev." 1:70-96; 2:102-113; 3:136-8; 4:136-43; 3:248-63; also Theological Literaturblatt 1911: 3, 4; M. N. O. P. 1911:23-27; Rev. Bib. 6:435-445.)

It is difficult to over estimate the results of these discoveries at Samaria. Not only was the city so well known to Jesus and His disciples laid bare, with its splendid streets and palaces and statues and sanctuaries of Roman worship but here as we have seen was uncovered the palace of Ahab—built while Elijah was alive!

And this palace instead of displaying the bar-

baric architecture of a half civilized community —as many scholars have insisted the Elijah community must have been—shows excellent workmanship "not surpassed by that of Herod or of his Seleucid predecessors" (Prof. David G. Lyon "Journal of Biblical Literature." 1911 pp 1-17). Of even greater importance were the inscriptions found on the floor level of the store house attached to the palace of Ahab and contiguous to a vase which positively dated them. These inscriptions written as we have seen in Hebrew on potsherds give us the names of two score or more of the private men of Ahab's time and incidentally through the proper names throw most interesting light on the religion of that period. "Moreover this discovery settles forever the question whether writing was common in Israel in the early days of the monarchy the flowing hand in which these ostraca are written with its graceful curves attests long acquaintance with writing and much practice in the art." (*ibed*) No wonder that Prof. Lyon declares that these discoveries at Samaria show results of first importance for the life of the ancient Hebrews. If this were the only thing resulting from all the excavations in Palestine it would be worth ten times the amount of money and time expended. Yet not one twentieth of ancient Samaria even after these three seasons of continuous and energetic ork, has been dug up. What treasure awaits the future discoverer who shall have behind him some Christian capi-



GREAT ROMAN ROAD, LINED WITH PILLARS, LEADING TO THE ANCIENT CITY OF SAMARIA



EARLIEST PREHISTORIC CAVES AND CUP-MARKS AT GEZER.

talist who believes sufficiently in the Bible to invest a little of his wealth in the effort to uncover this historic commentary on the Old Testament which the God of the Centuries has preserved for us!

(9) EXCAVATIONS AT GEZER.

Tell ej Jeser occupies a conspicuous position, over 250 feet above the plain and 750 feet above the sea, on a ridge of hills some 20 miles northwest of Jerusalem overlooking the plain toward Jaffa which is 17 miles distant. It is in plain sight of the two chief caravan roads of southern Palestine which it controlled. The ancient Gezer was well known from references to it in the Egyptian records, the names of several Governors of Gezer being given in letters dating from about 1400 B. C., and Menephthah (about 1200 B. C.) calling himself "Binder of Gezer". The discovery of the boundary stones of Gezer (see above) positively identified it. It was thoroughly excavated by R. A. Stewart Macalister in 1902-5; 1907-9, during which time 10,000 photographs were made of objects found. No explorations have been so long continued on one spot or have brought more unique discoveries or thrown more light upon the development of Palestinian culture and religion and none have been reported as fully. ("Excavations of Gezer" 1912, 3 vols; "History of Civilization in Palestine", 1912.)

Only the more important findings of this

very authoritative and most recent official statement can be given in this abstract. Ten Periods are recognized as being distinctly marked in the history of the mound—which broadly speaking represents the development in all parts of Palestine. (See Macalister "History of Civilization in Palestine.")

I. Pre-Semitic Period (about 3000-2500 B. C.) to entrance of first Semites.

II. First Semitic city (about 2500-1800 B. C.) to end of XII Egypt Dyn.

III. Second Semitic city (about 1800-1400 B. C.) to end of XVIII Egyptian Dyn.

IV. Third Semitic city (1400-1000 B. C.)

V. Fourth Semitic city (about 1000-550 B C.) to Destruction of Monarchy and Babylonian Exile.

VI. Persian and Hellenistic Period (550-100 B. C.) to beginning of Roman Dominion.

VII. Roman (100 B. C.—350 A. D.); VIII. Byzantine (350-600 A. D.); IX and X. Early and Modern Arabian (350 A. D. to the present.) The last four periods have left few important memorials and may be omitted from review.

I. The aboriginal non-Semitic inhabitants of Gezer were Troglodites (Cf. Gen. XIV:6) living in the caves which honeycomb this district, (Cf. Z. D. P. V. 1909, VI:12) modifying

these only slightly for home purposes. They were a small race 5 feet 4 inches to 5 feet 7 inches in height, slender in form, with rather broad heads and thick skulls, who hunted, kept domestic animals (cows, sheep, goats); had fire and cooked food; possessed no metals; made by hand a porous and gritty soft-backed pottery which they decorated with red lines; and were capable of a rude art—the oldest in Palestine—in which drawings of various animals are given. They prized certain bars of stone (possibly phallic); probably offered sacrifices; they certainly cremated their dead depositing with the ashes a few food vessels. The crematory found was 31 feet long by 24 wide, and in it the bodies were burned whole, without regard to orientation. Many cup marks in the rocks suggest possible religious rites; in close connection with these markings were certain remains, including bones of swine (Cf. Lev. XI:7).

11. The Semites which displaced this population were more advanced in civilization, having bronze tools and potter's wheels with finer and more varied pottery; they were a heavier race being 5 feet to 7 inches to 5 feet 11 inches high, larger boned, thicker skulled and with longer faces. They did not burn but buried their dead carelessly upon the floor of the natural caves, usually in a crouching position, the grave deposits are the same as before only occasionally some beads are found with the body.

One skeleton was found (about 2000 B. C.) with his hand in the bowl as if to be sure of food in the spirit world (P. E. F. Q. S. 1908: 207). The former race had surrounded their settlements with a wall 6 feet high and 8 feet thick, mostly earth, though faced with selected stones; but this race built a wall of hammered stones, though irregularly cut and laid, the wall being 10 feet thick and one gateway being 42 feet wide, flanked by two towers. While huts were always the common residences (as in later eras), yet some buildings of stone were erected towards the close of this period and one large palace was found, built of stone and having a row of columns down the center and containing a complex of rooms, including one rectangular hall, 40 feet long by 25 feet wide, Most remarkable of all were their works of engineering.

They hewed enormous constructions, square, rectangular and circular out of the soft chalk and limestone rocks, one of which contained 60 chambers, one chamber being 400 by 80 feet. The supreme work however was a tunnel which was made about 2000 B. C. passing out of use about 1450-1250 B. C., and which shows the power of these early Palestinians. It was 200-250 feet long and consisted of a roadway cut through the hill of rock some 47 1-2 feet to an imposing archway 23 feet high and 12 feet 10 inches broad which led to a long sloping passage of equal dimensions with the arch having a

vaulted roof and the sides well plumbed. This led into a bed of much harder rock, where dimensions were reduced and the workmanship was poorer, but ultimately reached about 130 feet below the present surface of the ground, an enormous living spring of such depth that the excavators could not empty it of the soft mud with which it was filled. A well cut but well worn and battered stone staircase over 12 feet broad connected the spring with the upper section of the tunnel 94 feet above. Beyond the spring was a natural cave 80 by 25 feet.

Dr. Macalister asks, "Did a Canaanite governor plan and Canaanite workmen execute this vast work? How did the ancient engineers discover the spring?" No one can answer, but certainly the tunnel was designed to bring the entrance of the water passage within the courtyard protected by the palace walls.

Another great reservoir 57x40 feet at another part of the city was quarried in the rock to a depth of 29½ feet and below this another one of equal depth but not so large, and narrowing toward the bottom. These were covered with two coats of cement and surrounded by a well; they would hold 600,000 gallons.

The dress of these contemporaries of the Patriarchs, as shown by a clay figure, consisted of a head-covering much resembling a Tam-o-Shanter cap with six ribbons streaming from it, and a cloak much like that of the modern Arab and worn like the modern university gown.

Such were the relatives and predecessors of the Hebrews who lived in Palestine 15 centuries before the Israelites entered it. A hoard of jewelry hidden from this era found by the excavators consisted of 4 silver rings, 2 scarabs, 2 silver hair pins, 25 silver beads, silver crescent, etc.

III. The second Semetic city, built on the ruins of the first, was smaller, but more luxurious. There were fewer buildings but larger rooms. The potter's wheel was worked by the foot and the pottery becomes much finer, the styles and decoration reaching a climax of grace and refinement. Foreign trade begins in this period and almost or quite reaches its culmination. The Hyksos scarabs found here prove that under their rule (XV-XVII Dyn.) there was close intercourse with Palestine and the multitudes of Egyptian articles show that this was also true before and after the Hyksos. The Cretan and Aegean trade especially through Cyprus introduced new art ideas which soon brought local attempts at imitation. Checker boards are first found in this period, with other games, though dice appear first in the 2d stratum above. Scribes' implements for writing on wax and clay begin here and are found in all strata hereafter.

While the pottery is elaborately painted it is but little moulded. The older combed ornament practically disappears while burnished ornament reaches high water mark. Animal figures are common, the eyes being elaborately

modeled and stuck on, but it is infantile art. Burials still occur in natural caves but also in those hewn artificially; the bodies are carelessly deposited on the floor without coffins, generally in a crouching position and stones are laid around and over them without system. Drink offerings always and food offerings generally are placed with the dead. Scarabs are found with the skeletons and ornaments of bronze and silver, occasionally gold and beads, and sometimes weapons. Lamps also begin to be deposited but in small numbers.

IV. During this period Menephthah "spoiled Gezer" and Israel established itself in Canaan. The excavations have given no hint of Menephthah's raid, unless it be found in an ivory pectoral bearing his cartouche. About 1400 B. C. a great wall 4 feet thick was built of large and well shaped stones and protected later by particularly fine towers, erected perhaps, as Macalister suggests, by the Pharaoh who captured Gezer and gave it as a dowry to his daughter, wife of King Solomon.

A curious fact, which seemingly illustrates Joshua XVI:10 is the large increase of the town shortly after the Hebrew invasion. "The houses are smaller and more crowded and the sacred area of the High Place is built over. There is no indication of an exclusively Israelite population around the city outside" (Macalister vs. Driver "Modern Research" 69.) That land was taken for building purposes from the old

sacred enclosure and that new ideas in building plans and more heavily fortified buildings were now introduced have been thought to suggest the entrance among the ancient population of another element with different ideas. The finest palace of this period with very thick walls (3-9 feet) carefully laid out at right angles and certainly built near "the time of the Hebrew invasion" was perhaps the residence of Horam (Joshua X:33).

At this period seals begin (10 being found here as against 28 in the next period and 31 in the Hellenistic) and also iron tools; the use of the carpenter's compass is proved, the bow drill was probably in use, bronze and iron nails appear (wrought iron being fairly common from about 1000 B. C.), a cooking pot of bronze was found and spoons of shell and bronze, modern methods of buttons and button holes are finest from this period, pottery buttons being introduced in the next city. One incidental Bible reference to the alliance between Gezer and Lachish (Joshua X:33) finds unexpected illustration from the fact that a kind of pottery peculiar to Lachish, not having been found in any other of the southern Palestinian towns was found at Gezer. The pottery here in general shows the same method of construction as in the 3d stratum, but the decoration and shapes deteriorate while there is practically no moulding. It shows much the same foreign influence as before, the styles being affected from Egypt, Crete,

the Aegean and especially Cyprus. From this period come 218 scarabs, 68 from the period previous and 93 in the following. Ornamental colored specimens of imported Egyptian glass also occur, clear glass glass not being found till the next period. Little intercourse is proved with Babylon. As against 16 Babylonian cylinders found in the previous period, only 4 were found in this and 15 in the next period.

Pottery models of the horse are found from this to the 6th level. A pair of bronze bits were also found here though in the models the reins are only attached to a thong around the nose. The harness is profusely ornamented; the rider sits far toward the neck, though in the next period modern style of riding on the hindquarters was adopted—both styles being ancient.

There was no marked change in the method of disposing of the dead, but the food vessels are of smaller size and are placed in the graves in great numbers, most of these being broken either through the use of poor vessels because of economy or with the idea of liberating the spirit of the object that it might serve the deceased in the spirit world. Lamps are common now in every tomb but there is a marked decrease in the quantity and value of ornamental objects. Religious emblems occur but rarely.

The worship of Astarte, the female consort of Baal, was most popular at this era, terra cotta figures and plaques of this goddess being found in many types and in large

numbers; it is suggestive that these grow notably less in the next stratum. It is also notable that primitive idols are certainly often intentionally ugly. (Vincent). So to this day Arabs ward off the evil eye with ugly amulets.

V. This period, during which almost the entire prophetic literature was produced, is of peculiar interest. Gezer at this time as at every other period was in general appearance like a modern Arab village, a huge mass of crooked, narrow, airless streets, shut inside a thick wall, with no trace of sanitary conveniences, with huge cisterns in which dead men could lie undetected for centuries, and with no sewers. Even in the Maccabean time the only sewer ran, not into a cess pool, but into the ground close to the governor's palace. No wonder that the death rate is excessively high, few old men being found in the cemeteries, while curvature of the spine. syphilis, brain disease and especially broken, unset bones are common.

The houses were generally of one story and when two storied the stairs led up from the outside and the lower floor was mostly given up to the cattle. When a chamber was too large to be spanned by a single length of roofing-timber middle posts were used—which a strong man might easily slip from their foot-stones, thus upsetting the house. (Com. Judges VI:26-30.) Tweezers, pins and needles, *kohl* bottles, mirrors, combs, perfume boxes, scrapers for baths were common in this stratum and in all

that follow it, while we have also here silver earrings, bracelets and other beautiful ornaments with the first sign of clear glass objects; tools also of many kinds of stone, bronze and iron, an iron hoe just like the modern one, and the first known pulley of bronze.

The pottery was poor in quality, clumsy and coarse in shape and ornament, excepting as it was imported, the local Aegean imitations being unworthy. Combed ornament was not common, and the burnished as a rule was limited to random scratches. Multiple lamps became common, and a large variety of styles in small jugs was introduced. The *motifs* of the last period survive but in a degenerate form. The bird friezes so characteristic of the 3d Sem. period disappear. The scarab stamp goes out of use, but the impressions of other seals "now become fairly common as potter's marks." These consist either of simple devices (stars, pentacles, etc.) or of names in Old Hebrew scripture. These Hebrew inscribed stamps were found at many sites and consist of two classes, (I) those containing personal names, such as Azariah, Haggai, Menahem, Shebaniah, etc.; (II) those which are confined to four names, often repeated—Hebron, Socoh, Ziph, Mamshith in connection with a reference to the king, *e. g.* "For (or of) the king of Hebron". These latter date, according to Dr. Macalister's final judgment, from the Persian period. He still thinks they represent the names of various

potters or potters' guilds in Palestine (Cf. 1 Ch. 2-4), but others suppose (and see especially "Side Lights from Gezer") that these names represent the local measures of capacity, which differed in these various districts; others that they represented different tax-districts where wine jars would be used and bought. At any rate we certainly have here the work of the king's potters referred to in 1 Cronicles 4 23.

Another very curious Hebrew tablet inscription is the so-called Zodiacal Tablet, on which the signs of the Zodiac are figured with certain other symbols which were at first supposed to express some esoteric magical or religious meaning, but which seem only to represent the ancient agricultural year with the proper months indicated for sowing and reaping—being the same as the modern seasons and crops excepting that flax was cultivated anciently. Either, as Macalister says, some Hebrew scribe (800-600 B. C.) wanted to show off his learning or else elaborate literary work must have been particularly fascinating to Hebrew scribes (800-600 B. C.) since they took so much pains to state picturesquely such well known facts.

An even more important literary memorial from this period consists of two cuneiform tablets written about three-quarters of a century after the Ten Tribes had been carried to Assyria and foreign colonies had been thrown into Israelite territory. This collapse of the Northern

Kingdom was not marked by any local catastrophe, so far as the ruins indicate, any more than the collapse of the Canaanitish kingdom when Israel entered Palestine; but soon afterwards we find an Assyrian Colony settled in Gezer" using the Assyrian language and letters and carrying on business with Assyrian methods." In one tablet (649 B. C.), there is a Bill of Sale containing description of the property, the name of the buyer, seals and signatures of 12 witnesses for the same, one of whom is the Egyptian governor of the new town, another an Assyrian noble whose name precedes that of the governor, and still another a Western Asiatic, the others being Assyrian. It is a Hebrew, "Nethaniah", who the next year, as the other tablet shows, sells his field, his seal bearing upon it a lunar or stellar emblem. Notwithstanding the acknowledged literary work of high quality produced in Palestine during this period, no other hint of this is found clear down to the Greek period except in one neo-Babylonian tablet.

The burials in this period were much as previously, excepting that the caves were smaller and toward the end of the period shelves around the walls receive the bodies. In one Semitic tomb as many as 150 vessels were found. Quite the most astonishing discovery at this level was that of several tombs which scholars generally agree to be "Philistine." They were not native Canaanite, but certainly Aegean intruders with relations with Crete and

Cyprus such as we expect the Philistines to have. The tombs were oblong or rectangular, covered with large horizontal slabs, each tomb containing but a single body, stretched out with the head to the east or west.

One tomb was that of a girl of 18 with articles of alabaster and silver about her, and wearing a Cretan silver mouth plate; another was a man with agate seal of Assyrian design, a two-handled glass vessel, etc; another was a woman surrounded by handsome ornaments of bronze, lead, silver and gold, with a basalt scarab between her knees.

The richest tomb was of a girl whose head had been severed from the body; with her was a hemispherical silver bowl, ornamented with rosette and lotus pattern, and a hoard of beautiful things. The iron in these tombs was noticeable (Cf. 1 Samuel 19 19), and in one tomb were found two ingots of gold, one of these being of the same weight almost to a fraction as that of Achan. (Joshua 7:21).

The most impressive discovery was the high place. This began as early as 2500-2000 B. C., and grew by the addition of monoliths and surrounding buildings up to this era. The 8 huge uncut pillars which were found standing in a row, with two others fallen (yet Cf. Benzinger, Hebrew Archaeology 320), show us the actual appearance of this ancient worshipping place so famous in the Bible (Deut. 16 22; 2K 17 9 11; 23 8). The top of one of these monoliths had



HEBREW INSCRIPTIONS ON JAR HANDLES (GEZER).



HUMAN REMAINS FOUND UNDER CORNERS OF HOUSES AND FOUNDATION WALLS AT GEZER.



LAMPS IN BOWLS, WHICH TOOK THE PLACE GENERALLY OF LIVING HUMAN SACRIFICES SHORTLY AFTER THE ISRAELITES CONQUERED GEZER.

been worn smooth by kisses; another was an importation, being possibly, as has been suggested, a captured "Ariel"; another stone, near by, had a large cavity in its top, nearly 3 feet long and 2 feet broad and 1 foot 4 inches deep, which is differently interpreted as being the block upon which the Asherah, so often mentioned in connection with the *maccebhoth,* may have been erected, or as an altar, or perhaps a laver for ritual ablutions. Inside the sacred inclosure was found a small bronze cobra (2K 18 4), and also the entrance to an ancient cave, where probably oracles were given, the excavators finding that this cave was connected with another by a small, secret, passage—through which presumably the message was delivered.

In the stratum underlying the high place was a cemetery of infants buried in large jars. "That the sacrificed infants were the firstborn, devoted in the temple, is indicated by the fact that none were over a week old" (Macalister).

When one looks back upon these excavations which have revealed the vast reservoirs and tunnels and palaces 2000 B. C. he can understand more fully the value of the "promise" given to Abraham at Bethel within a few miles of Gezer that this rich country should one day belong wholly to him and to his seed. We notice also that shortly after Abraham's time the foreign trade begins and reaches its climax. In the third Semitic city, which includes the Exodus era and the beginning of the monarchy, we first

find iron weapons, seals begin to be common and the finest palace ever built in the city dates from this epoch—a palace which Dr. Macalister thinks must have belonged to King Horam the opponent of Joshua (Joshua 10:33). We have noticed that the pottery and art decorations were not as rich and beautiful after the Hebrews began to dominate the city; showing that their superiority to the Canaanites was not in material civilization but in religion. During the era when the Hebrew prophets were writing their great works few indications of literary interest are found at Gezer though *styli* were common and a few specimens of fine work (notably the so-called "Zodiacal Tablet") have been saved from the wreckage of centuries. A number of business tablets date from the 7th century before Christ from the era when Manasseh was king of Juda and Micah, who lived in a neighboring town to Gezer, was writing his prophecies. We notice that of the many seals which were found at Gezer 28 date from the period (1000-550 B. C.) during which the prophets from Amos to Zephaniah were prophesying and the Hebrew Kings from David to Jehoiachin were reigning. Since the excavations ceased many other seals have been found, one of these having engraved upon it in ancient Hebrew characters: "Of Shebaniah". The name of this ancient Hebrew meaning "Jehovah has brought me back." (Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Report. July 1913.)

(10.) EXCAVATIONS AT BETH-SHEMESH.

The very latest excavation in Palestine (1911-1912) was that conducted by Dr. Donald McKenzie at *'Ain Shems*' ("Well of the Sun") the site of the ancient Beth-Shemesh ("House of the Sun"), and this was almost stopt through lack of funds. Because of his extensive Cretan studies, Doctor McKenzie was specially fitted to excavate in Philistine territory, because Philistines and Cretans were both of the same old Greek stock; but before the city could be opened to view the money gave out, and the Palestine Exploration Fund had to stop the work. He went to Athens, and while in a restaurant there—as I was told by Mr. Beaumont, his draftsman—a Jew sitting at a near-by table heard him tell of the pitious condition in which the excavations had been left, and immediately passed to him $500! Because of this help the excavations continued, and Beth-Shemesh began to tell its romantic story. He uncovered a walled and fortressed city which had been beseiged, probably by Sennacherib: "the breaches in the bastions, repeatedly repaired, bulging walls propt up again in evident haste, all told a story in which the burning of the city was the final *denouement*" (*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Reports, July and Oct.,* 1912.) He found the ancient high place with its five pillars lying on their sides and broken as if purposely smashed. The bases of the pillars were flat, the tops were

rounded, and the marks of tools could still be seen upon them, tho the "Lord of day was now looking down upon his forgotten sanctuary for the first time since the day of wrath and anger," when Sennacherib's army destroyed it.

More wonderful was the discovery of the very walls captured by the Hebrews—with bronze arrows still sticking in them as they had been shot there by the attacking party—and it was noticable that after this era Beth-Shemesh ceased to be a fortress but continued its history as an "unfenced" city of Judah. In the pre-Israelite city were some beautiful jars and vases of the Aegean type showing artistic skill, elegance of style, and a peculiar fineness of execution. In the Israelite city were found various short Hebrew incriptions dating from the time of the monarchy.

The Hebrew domination—as was proved by the pottery—continued until the captivity, when the city was abandoned and not rebuilt until the fifth century A. D., when a Byzantine church was erected upon what was evidently considered sacred soil. Even up to the present day a certain spot by the side of the ancient road has been counted "holy" by the natives, and almost under this spot, close to the most ancient high place of the Philistines, a huge boulder was found which Dr. McKenzie thinks may be the rock in the field of "Joshua the Beth-Shemite," at the place where the ark stopt (1 Sam. 6:14). It is just at the junction of the

roads coming from Gaza and Ekron in Philistia and leading up to Jerusalem. At any rate, something even more surprizing was found when they searched underneath the high place. "What revealed itself to our astonished eyes after a little clearing was a burial cave with all the paraphernalia of the cult of the dead then in position as they had been left thousands of years ago," before the Hebrews entered Canaan. A shaft through the rock led also to a subterranean chamber and to the "intra-mural water-supply of Beth-Shemesh," showing a skill and foresight almost unbelievable. One thing seems positively settled by this excavation, *viz.*, that this could never have been a town of anything like 50,000 inhabitants. Consequently the numbers reported as being slain through looking into the ark (1 Sam. 6:19) must either have been an exaggeration or else show a corruption in the present text, or may give support to the contention of Petrie and Hoskins that the Hebrew term "thousand" ought to be translated "family"—as it is sometimes translated in the Bible margin; so that instead of 50,000 being killed the account would declare that seventy men were killed, and this resulted in the wiping out of fifty families (cf. Hoskins *From the Nile to Nebo*, pp. 163-188).

(II.) OTHER RECENT EXCAVATIONS.

While the above excavations represent by far the most important work done in Palestine

during the twentieth century yet a few recent discoveries, not yet noticed, have been made by independent workers and a large amount of really valuable detail work has been done under the auspises of the School of Biblical Study carried on by the Dominicans in Jerusalem and by the German Evangelical Institute and American School of Oriental Study established there. These observations and researches have been officially published in the Revue Biblique, the Mitteilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palastina Vereins and by the Palestine Exploration Fund. They have consisted mainly of topographical, geographical and meteorological notes; a study of ancient weights, measures, coins, etc.; examinations of ancient walls, towers, caves. roads, and springs, a critical study of the natural products of modern and ancient Palestine, and of the exports and imports; political and social conditions at all eras, etc., etc. Especial good work has been done in studying the modern manners and customs, religious ideas and folk-lore of the native *fellahin* and Bedouin.

Many small objects have been brought to light such as seals, glass mosaics, wall frescoes, ossuaries, osteophagi, Greek, Latin and Kufic inscriptions and other objects too numerous to mention. A few ancient ruins of churches, monasteries and tombs have been uncovered together with many walls and towers. In the midst of this wealth of small discovery it seems almost impossible to mention any without un-

fairly discriminating against others which might perhaps be counted of equal rank, yet we cannot wholly omit from our review a few of these most recent "finds". No Bible student could fail to be interested in the two fine rock-cut tombs containing Jewish sarcophagi found recently in a suburb of Jerusalem, a rolling stone being used for a door of one of the tombs. As these are almost the only Jewish sarcophagi known near Jerusalem it is of interest to see how carefully they were made and also to notice that like the heathen tomb found shortly before near the Damascus gate, the walls of these Jewish tombs were prepared for wall paintings. In connection with this might be mentioned the discovery of a rich carved marble sarcophagus (2d Century B. C.) at Turmus 'Aya near Shiloh, described in 1913 by Mr. Jacob E. Spafford. It was constructed out of fine white marble, the heavy lid being gable shaped like most of the Greek and Roman sarcophagi of Palestine, and its sides ornamented with elaborate carvings little inferior to any other work of the kind ever before unearthed in Palestine. Among these are fruits and flowers in abundance and several remarkable symbolical figures. The figures represent Bacchus, a horse and rider, a man in the clutch of a dragon, and the four seasons with symbolical figures of the Earth and Ocean. The figure representing Winter is covered with an ample mantle, his right hand is broken and birds are held in his left hand. By his side is

Spring, whose left arm rests on a gnarled branch, the right hand holding a basket of flowers. Next to this is the figure representing Summer, pictured as a winged cupid, whose hair is adorned with ears of wheat, and who carries a basket overflowing with the same grain. The Earth is seen at the feet of Winter, wearing a garland of ripe grain upon her brow. As the remains of an imposing castle called Kefr Istuna, superior to any other in this land is to be found about ten minutes distance from where this sarcophagus was found Mr. Spafford thinks this to be the grave memorial of Prince Ishtuma, who is mentioned in one of the Elephantine papyri as a resident in Jerusalem in the 5th century B. C. (J. Brit. Arch. Ass'n June 1913.)

In April and May, 1905, the German Oriental Society excavated a Hebrew synagague of the Roman era at *Tell-Hum.* It was 78 feet long by 59 feet wide, was built of beautiful white limestone ,almost equal to marble, and was in every way more magnificent than any other yet found in Palestine, that in Chorazin being the next finest. Its roof was gable-shaped and it was surprisingly ornamented with fine carvings representing animals, birds, fruits, flowers, etc., though in some cases these ornamentations had been intentionally mutilated.

In January 1907, Macalister and Masterman proved that *Khan Minyeh* was not the ancient Capernaum, as it contained no pottery older than Arabian time, thus showing *Tell-Hum* to be the

ancient site, so that the synagague just excavated may be the one referred to in Luke XII:5.

At Samieh, six hours north of Jerusalem, two important Canaanite cemeteries were discovered by the *fellahin* in 1906, consisting of circular or oval tomb chambers, with roofs roughly dome-shaped, as at Gezer; in these a large quantity of pottery and bronze objects, much of excellent quality, was found.

The bit of recent exploration in Jerusalem which has created the most excitemnt was that by Captain Walker (1911). For 13 nights he succeeded in evading the Turkish guards and remaining with his party of diggers in the Mosque of Omar. They dug down under the sacred rock, in close connection with which was the altar of the ancient Hebrew Temple, hoping to find the vaults of Solomon's Temple and perhaps not only to get rich treasure but the sceptre of Solomon, the rod of Aaron and possibly the Ark of the Covenant! On the thirteenth night they were discovered and the Moslems of the city became so enraged that a massacre of Christians became imminent. What treasure-trove did these unauthorized diggers get to compensate for this feeling of hate which hurt the cause of legitimate excavation for many years? Father Vincent (**"Underground Jerusalem" 1911) declares that they found many "unmistakable Israelitish fragments of pottery" and an elaborate system of subterranean passages underneath what had been the old temple; but

no treasure. Most if not all of the passages which they supposed themselves to be discovering had been examined years before by earlier explorers. On the Hill of Ophel they found however (1909-1911) an immense burial cave of the ancient Canaanites and an Egyptian looking tomb containing wonderfully well preserved specimens of pottery which proved to be as fine as any yet found in Palestine "enabling us to date the origin of the ancient city of Jebus, which David captured later, to 2400 B. C." (*ibed*, p. 24) Father Vincent actually thinks that they found the "scientifically constructed" secret passage leading "right into the middle of the impregnable Jebusite fortress" by means of which David captured the city (II Samuel V:8).

We perhaps ought also to mention among the most recent "finds" the ancient olive press, dating back to Moses' day, found at Moresheth-Gath; the Hittite sculptures in the "Valley of Lebanon" covered with bas-reliefs of bulls, lions and other animal figures; the heathen temple from the time of Diocletian recently found a little south of the "street called Straight" in Damascus and the Christian mosaic found on the Mt. of Olives in 1907, containing the monogram of Jesus Christ and the letters *alpha* and *omega*. Another mosaic found recently at 'Ain 'Arrub between Bethlehem and Hebron contained an inscription in Greek telling of St. Plesippos who "like St. John" had lived to be a hundred years old. A few inscriptions have also been recently

found at Gerasa and many more would doubtless have been recovered had it not been for the ruthless destruction of the ancient buildings in order to construct the poor dwellings of the population living in near by villages. Some of the massive walls at Gerasa had actually been blown up by gunpowder!

It ought to be finally added that no city in Palestine has been fully and thoroughly excavated excepting Gezer and that a multitude of historic spots where good "finds" are enevitable have never been touched; notably Ascalon, Banias, Beersheba, Caesarea, Frank Mountain and Masada.

III. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS FROM THE EXCAVATIONS IN PALESTINE, WEST OF THE JORDAN.

1. Conclusions Bearing Upon the Old Testament.

Certain conclusions seem forced upon us as we examine attentively the dscoveries made in Palestine and while some of these conclusions are very unlike the *a-priori* expectations of Biblical scholars yet they must be reckoned with in all future theological or historical discussions which are based upon conditions in the Holy

(For entire literature of recent Palestine exploration see my article on this subject in "Intern tional Standard Bible Dictionary," just published by the Howard-Severance Company, of Chicago.)

Land and which seek to trace the evolution of civilization and religion among the Israelites.

(1.) These investigations have proved that Palestine civilization was not local but universal. There was a unity of culture found throughout the entire land, east, west, north, south. The unity of religious worship was as marked as that of the pottery decorations. There seems no evidence that the Palistinian native characteristics were fundamentally changed even by the closest proximity on the far south to Egypt or on the far north-west to Phoenicia.

(2.) The civilization uncovered was incomparably better than was expected. The pre-Israelitish civilization was found to be almost equal to that of Babylonia or Egypt in the same period; while the old Hebrew palace dug up in Samaria and the other remains from the times of the monarchy indicate quite clearly that the material civilization of this era in Palestine would compare fairly well with the average of like-sized towns in Egypt.

(3.) One of the greatest surprises was the discovery that there was no collapse of civilization when the Israelites entered the land, although a marked deterioration in the pottery showed itself about the time of the Assyrian and Babylonian Exile. This suggests that when the Hebrews first entered Palestine their civilization, so far as its natural elements are concerned was either not much lower than that of the Canaan-

ties, or else that the Hebrew occupation of the country was so gradual that the conquerors did not prove a destructive force to the native culture but were able to adapt themselves to it and make it their own.

(4.) Not only at Megiddo and Samaria but in every town uncovered in Palestine there was found unexpected and positive proof of the literary skill of the ancient inhabitants. Writing materials (*styli*) were found, to the surprise of the excavators, to be common in all periods from the Exodus era and earlier down to the destruction of the Jewish commonwealth. Indeed there were no more signs of literature in the late eras during which all acknowledge the Hebrew Prophets were writing the most powerful and beautiful books known to the ancient world than in the Exodus era or the era or David. Even the Maccabean era, during which according to some of our most distinguished scholars many of the Psalms (if not all of them) were written and the choicest bits of Biblical poetry and apocalyse arose, gives us no literary finds superior to the earlier strata. Of the 69 seals found at Gezar during the thousand years and more from 1400 to 200 B. C., ten of them come from the first four centuries, twenty eight from 1000 to 550 B. C. and 31 from the Greek period; so that judging from the ruins even the greatest literary period in the history of the ancient world did not leave much more of an impression upon this country province than the previous epochs had

produced. If it were not for the certainty that some of the greatest literary treasurers ever originated in ancient times came from the Hebrew prophets from the eighth to the fifth century before our era and if it were not for the Hebrew seals coming from the monarchy which equal those of any land, and if it were not for the inscribed Hebrew *ostraka* coming from Elijah's life-time whose "easy flowing hand and graceful curves" display "skill from long practice" we might have been disappointed in the literary remains; but as it is when we compare these relics with the still fewer literary remains that have come from other centuries we gain an unexpected and positive proof of the literary skill of the ancient Jews.

(5.) Little Babylonian influence can be detected in the remains coming from the Hebrew era. Dr. Hugo Winckler and the other fascinating writers, who had half convinced all of us that Babylonia during the prophetic period and later was completely dominating the science and literary thought and style of the Hebrews have obtained no confirmation whatever for their theories from the new excavations. If ever the argument of silence could be used with weight it can apply here.

(6.) All those who have followed the work of the excavators must have been impressed by the countless places where the discoveries have confirmed or illustrated the Bible. It is indeed very

suggestive that in no single case, except possibly in one statement concerning Jericho, does any statement of the Bible contradict the findings of the spade, while in scores and hundreds of cases it is found that the statements of scripture concerning building, repairing or destroying of city walls are beautifully confirmed by the ruins and in every case the hundreds of statements concerning the facts of history and customs of civilization at each era are borne out by the excavations so far as this was at all possible.

Wonderful as the Old Testament has ever seemed to past generations it becomes a "far more profound phenomenon" when it is viewed in the history of Palestine and of the old Oriental area. It enshrines the result of certain influences, the teaching of certain truths, and the acquisition of new conceptions of the relations between man and man and man and God. And it is now seen that "that which in the Old Testament appears most perishable, most defective, and which suffers most under critical inquiry was necessary in order to adapt new teachings to the commonly accepted beliefs of a bygone and primitive people." (S. A. Cook "Ency. Brit. XX:617; see also his "Rel. of Ancient Palestine" 1908).

(7.) Most important of all the discoveries is that which has to do with the religion of the ancient Canaanites and the change which strangely came upon it during the prophetic

period. Its universal polytheism and almost equally universal brutality and licentiousness meet us constantly. The phallic symbols, the repugnant Astarte figures, the multitudes of amulets and charms testifying to the ever constant fear of demons and faith in magic and above all the proof of human sacrifice and the offering of the first born with piteous and tragic frequency all these cause us to see for the first time the awful opponents of Elijah and Isaiah and the kind of heathenism against which Ezra and Nehemiah were forced to raise up the "hedge of the law". When we see how the old worship was entrenched and the hold which it had obtained upon all the rest of the civilized world we may well stand "amazed at the survival of this world religion." (George Adam Smith). It is only when we remember that the Hebrews were the only Semitic people which was not completely overwhelmed by the Astarte iniquity that we can adequately appreciate the Divine force which was behind the pure teaching of the Hebrew prophets.

The results as we have given them must have filled every lover of the Bible with joy. There has never been one discovery which threw discredit upon the knowledge and accuracy of the Biblical writers while there have been multitudes of discoveries confirming the Bible narratives even in very minute particulars. The total impression given by the discoveries agrees in a most remarkable manner with the picture

of life given in the Old Testament. No modern author however learned could invent a narrative of ancient life which would thus correspond to the facts. No modern archaeologist but needs to revise his best considered descriptions of the ancient world at least every ten years because of the new discoveries. Herodotus and Manetho even though they were trained historians and lived in the ancient world have been proved to be mistaken in innumerable particulars. Those ancient Bible writers were not miraculously protected from blunders according to the practically unanimous decision of modern scholarship. Yet historians are almost equally unanimous in the declaration that in accuracy no contemporaneous writers can compare with them. Therefore we must believe that they had generally very clear first hand knowledge of the events which they recorded or must have been providentially guided in the selection of the "authorities" upon which they depended.

2. Conclusions Bearing Upon the New Testament.

The Holy Land is not, as Renan thought, the Fifth Gospel; but it is the best existing commentary on the Four Gospels.

(1.) It has long been known that the Gospel narartives and the Sermons of Jesus lose many of their most beautiful meanings to one unfamiliar with the natural scenery and native customs of Palestine. The language of Jesus, His ilustra-

tions and figures of speech all show the influence of His surroundings.

(2.) Much deeper than this is the undoubted fact of the psychological influence of these surroundings upon the disciples and the Master. The ancestry and home of the early teachers of Christianity affected them intellectually and spiritually. "We must not isolate the story" says Dr. Dale "from the preceding history of the Jewish race.......... Many people seem to suppose that they may approach the subject as if the Lord Jesus Christ had appeared in Spain or China instead of Judea and Galilee." (*The Living Christ,* p. 89). Housrath states this point most excellently:

"If negatively it be self evident that Jesus' mission would have assumed another character had He grown up under the oaks of Germany instead of the palms of Nazareth......so positively it is indisputable that for Jesus Himself the facts of His consciousness were given Him under those forms of viewing things in which Jewish thought in general was cast. Only by a freak of imagination can it be supposed that an historical personality becomes conscious of the fact of its own inner light by conceptions other than those in which the thought of the age in general finds expression."

To be a "son of Abraham" meant something

[1] "Hist. of N. T. Times" 11:225, quoted by Kelman in his most valuable article, "Palestine," in "Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels".)

even to the "Son of Man", and the Jewish history and literature was the best part of His early education. From the hill above Nazareth He could see scores of historical sites and in all His boyish wanderings He and His companions were met with reminiscences of David and Elijah and Judas Maccabaeus and other heroes of Israel. The modern explorations fixing ancient sites and recent valuable studies of the physical features of Palestine have brought much more vividly to us the historic and geographical influences which must have affected every thoughtful Galilean youth.

(3.) But these investigations have done much more than this. It is now seen as never before that Christianity "at its depth rests upon Oriental foundations." Jesus was an Oriental, living His life in the midst of a crowd; always under the scrutiny of innumerable eyes and His thoughts "flung out at once into the arena of public discussion" (Kelman). His religious presuppositions, His style of argument, His picturesque language, His thought of nature and of politics, His view of religious truth and His methods of presenting truth were all Oriental. The modern excavations in Palestine have given to us a better appreciation of the Oriental poverty and comfortlessness of the little adobe houses in which Jesus and His contemporaries of the poorer and middle classes lived.

(4.) But perhaps the new discoveries have been most important in bringing clearly to light

the fact that the district in which Jesus lived was a luxurious district coming into close touch daily with the curents of a world traffic. Jesus and His desciples were poor but their neighbors were rich. The shore of the Sea of Galilee was a favorite place for the summer residences of Roman nobles. When one thinks of the splendid Greek city of Tiberias, the most prominent object on the Sea of Galilee, built during the early manhood of Jesus and made capital of Galilee by Herod, and when one examines the magnificent ruins of Samaria which was directly on the route to Jerusalem and then crossing the Jordan visits Gadara or the wonderful ruins of Gerasa in Decapolis (cf. Mathew IV:25) with its 230 great columns and Corinthian pillars, its triumphal arch, its magnificent baths and temples, its splendid theater capable of seating 6,000 spectators and its newly excavated circus for naval engagements—a Bible student comes away with a new impression of the surroundings of the Founder of Christianity.

(5.) Though it has been well said that the ordinary travels of Jesus were limited to a district scarcely larger than Chicago and its suburban towns; yet one of the great highways of commerce leading from Egypt to Damascus passed up through Galilee by the way of Nazareth and from the home of Jesus it was only 40 miles to Tyre, the celebrated Phoenician capital and less than 50 to the great Roman city of Caesarea Philippi where the ground is yet covered with

the remnants of ancient palaces which in the days of Christ were more imposing than any mansions now owned by New York millionaires.

And it must be remembered too that the influence of traffic was greater then than now, since travel was slow and every good sized town and village became a stopping place for these caravans which contained not only merchants and soldiers but often foreign scholars and princes. I have said that the travel was slow but the Roman roads in the first century were really better than our best State Highways, and while the ordinary day's travel of a caravan was not more than 20 or 25 miles, special imperial messengers were accustomed to make from 100 to 150 miles in cases of emergency ("Dict. of the Bible" V:368-402).

(6.) But it was the Mediterranean which was the swiftest and best highway of the entire civilized world and it must not be forgotten that the ocean borders Palestine and can be seen from the hills of Nazareth. These ships were primitive but were often of good size. St. Paul speaks of his ship carrying 276 people (Acts XXVII:37) and Josephus tells of being wrecked on a voyage from Palestine to Italy while on a ship carrying some 600 persons, and there were war ships at that time which would carry as many as a thousand soldiers and other ships capable of carrying from 250 to 1500 tons of freight. A great fleet of corn ships, such as the one on which St. Paul sailed, was owned by the Roman government,

the wheat traffic being controlled as a government monopoly. Pictures of the ships of this era, perhaps painted within 20 years of Paul's journey, are common at Herculaneum and Pompeii and a vivid description of one of them comes to us from a Syrian who was born about 50 years after Paul's shipwreck. Describing one of the Alexandrian grain ships he speaks of "the long rising sweep of the prow and the figures of her name-goddes Isis on either side" (cf. Acts XXVIII:2), and then continues:

"As to other ornamental details the paintings and the scarlet top sail, I was more struck by the anchors and the capstans and windlasses and the stern cabins. The crew was like a small army. And they were saying she carried as much corn as would feed every soul in Attica for a year. And all depends for safety on one little atom of a man who controls that great rudder with a mere broomstick of a tiller." ("Bib. World" XXXIV:339).

It is suggestive that the route of this grain ship was exactly the same as the first part of Paul's voyage and that it also encountered adverse winds. The nautical terms used by St. Luke in his description correspond very exactly with ancient lists excepting in one place where in speaking of the ship being broken by the waves he says that they needed to bandage it. (Acts XXVII.17) using here a medical term which must have made any sailor smile who heard it or read it. A long list of technical medical terms

used in the Acts of the Apostles by "the beloved physician" (Col. IV:14) has been known to scholars for many years, and these have not only been increased through a recent critical study of the text by Prof. Harnack but a celebrated classical scholar has recently pointed out that the formal introduction to the Third Gospel (Luke 1:1-4) is so nearly like that with which Dioscorides began his great work on Materia Medica that it is quite probable that Luke had this work in his library and imitated it. (Blass "Philology of the Gospels" p. 34).

As we study these strange conditions and literary coincidences that illustrate Scripture we are reminded of the beautiful bas-relief of a female head found some years ago in excavations at Athens which was pronounced by M. Kavadias the archaeologist in charge to be a fragment of the frieze of Phidias on the Parthenon near by. Other archaeologists expressed doubt. After a good deal of discussion it was recollected that among parts of the Parthenon frieze, among the Elgin marbles in the British Museum there was a figure of Iris, the goddess of the rainbow, lacking the head. A cast was taken of the newly discovered head and sent to England. This was placed on the part of the frieze from which a head had been broken away. It fitted in the cavity, the figure was symetrical and a lifted arm and hand on the frieze just met the fingers on the back of the head. No argument

was needed. The demonstration was perfect that it was the head of Iris.

The priceless jewel, the New Testament, has been shown by history and archaeology to fit its setting as perfectly as the head of Iris its place on the frieze. (**Quoted from Trans. of the Vict. Inst., LXV:29, and see Charles Waldstein "Papers of American School of Classical Studies at Athens," V:135-161.)

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THE TURKISH GUARDS PATROLLING THE BORDERLAND BETWEEN TURKISH AND EGYPTIAN TERRITORY. THE PILLARS MARK THE BORDER.



AZAZIMEH TENTS CLOSE TO KADESH-BARNEA

PART II.

KADESH-BARNEA

The "Lost Oasis" of the Sinaitic Peninsula.

This old earth has yet a few strangely hidden treasures which thrill the heart of an explorer when they are discovered. The excitement of Conan Doyle's heroes when they found "the Lost World" in South America could have been no greater than the excitement of modern excavators in Egypt digging up gold jewelry and bronze weapons and wonderful ivory statuettes from palaces and graves dating back to a period centuries or perhaps millenniums before the Trojan War.

The excitement is even more intense, as in my own case last winter, when in a pre-dynastic grave one sees under the sand and stones a clay bowl almost as delicate as modern china and as beautifully formed and exquisitely polished as any Roycrofter could equal. As this precious thing, which was made thousands of years before the potter's wheel was invented and which no eye had seen for six thousand years, drops into one's hand, absolutely perfect without a

break or nick or discoloration, he gasps with astonishment at sight of this strange relic coming from the inhabitants of a lost human world which lived and loved and hated and worshiped as far before the days of the Trojan war as we live after it. The discovery of a living geologic bird, large as an automobile, and of a turtle big as a battleship could not rouse the pulse to swifter action than this.

Yet the discovery of some hidden spot on the earth's surface never visited by modern man, which possesses historical importance in its influence upon the development of the human race—this gives a palpitation of heart even greater than that which comes from the uncovering of buried treasurers belonging to an unknown hero of a forgotten past. Few in all the future years of this earth can ever hereafter feel the thrill of such an experience. There are, to be sure, a few unmapped districts in Tibet and Central Africa and perhaps even in South America; but none of these represent historical sites where world-transforming influences have originated.

The Most Celebrated Oasis in the World.

The two oldest documents of the Pentateuch make Kadesh-barnea the permanent residence of the Israelites during almost the entire "forty years" of the wanderings. The two other basal documents give it prominence, the one at the beginning and the other

at the final stage of these desert journeys. Next to Mt. Sinai this little oasis appears in all the documents as the most important stopping-place of the Israelites on their way from Egypt to the Holy Land and, according to the general agreement of scholars, while they stopt but a year at Sinai they made this their ecclesiastical center for some thirty-eight years, the ark resting here while the tribes scattered through the *wadis* lying around it. That 'Ain-Kadis is the true location of the ancient Kadesh-barnea of Scripture "is so patent that no other site can really be said in the minds of scholars to rival it"(G. L. Robinson, *Biblical World,* XVII. 327); "Kadesh is undoubtedly 'Ain Kadis" (L. B. Paton, *Journal of Biblical Literature,* April, 1913, p. 22.) This is one of the few stopping-places of the Israelites that seem to be settled with scientific positiveness. It is the only stopping-place beween Egypt and Palestine which is called in the Bible "a city"; the usual name even yet in the desert for any permanent group of tents.

Here it was that the Hebrew nation was born; and the world to-day is a very different world from what it would have been if the Hebrew people had not come to birth in this desert. One of the miracles of history is the conquest of Palestine by a union of tribes most of which had been but a few years before in Egypt as slaves. When these untrained clans first left Egypt they were scared back from Palestine, but

after a generation of hardening and training at Kadesh-barnea they assaulted this country of mighty fortresses and permanently conquered it.

What other district, however large, can be pointed to as the spot where a nation was born which gave three religions to the world and thus changed the planet more than a geoligic era? It was in this wilderness oasis, according to Wellhausen, that the organization of the nation took place when Moses, "the great national Cadi, laid a firm basis for a consuetudinary law and became the originator of the Torah in Israel." All scholars substantially agree that this was the first experiment station where the Mosaic law could be "tried out" and where these people who had been slaves for generations could be taught independence and the love of freedom and a settled allegiance to the national religion. Here it was, according to all the different strands of the Hebrew documents, that Moses met and conquered several rebellions, some of which attained tragic dimensions. One of these was led by Aaron and Miriam and another even more serious by certain leading princes of the dominating tribe of Reuben. It was here too that the people murmured when the water gave out and Moses the meek, bursting into uncontrollable wrath, struck the rock passionately as he felt like striking the rebels and lo, a spring was opened in the desert! This is usually spoken of as the most wonderful of all the miracles, but recent oriental research would offer a new explanation of this

extraordinary event; for just as conservative historians understand that the crossing of the Red Sea was produced by a conjunction of natural forces, now well understood and still active, among which the east wind was conspicuous, and just as modern geologists would explain the drying up of the Jordan as having been produced by a landslide a little distance up the stream—where similar conditions have brought on similar results in recent time—so Egyptologists might with equal reason explain this narrative by well-known facts revealed by the monuments. . .

The mining and drilling of rocks was no rare thing in the Mosaic era. The oldest Egyptian map known (now in Turin) dates from this period and shows the different galleries of a certain gold mine and the well which had been sunk for the miners near by. One Pharaoh, referring to one of these foreign wells which he had dug, says: "I enclosed it by a wall like a mountain of granite." Another inscription dating from the time of Seti I. tells how he sank a well 190 feet before he reached water, tho his son, the Pharaoh of the oppression, found a living spring at the depth of twenty feet. It is made plain by various texts that to strike the rock with official authority was a well-understood signal that the engineers were to begin work at that point at once. One particularly interesting text declares concerning the reigning Pharaoh:

"The gold appeared on the mountain at the mention of thy name!"

"When thou didst speak: 'Come thou upon the mountain,' it rained immediately!"

"When the prince said: 'I will have a well here,' the water which was in the depth was obedient to him!" (*Records of the Past,* viii. 68-75; Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs,* pp. 288-292; cf. Breasted, *Ancient Records,* iii. 171, 195, 263-289.)

According to these panegyrics the Pharaoh had but to speak the word and lo! the water leaped from the living rock. No miracle was accomplished and no miracle was reported. It was simply the ordinary pictorial oriental method of saying that the prince gave the command for the work to be done and it was done quickly and successfully. That the Hebrews were accustomed so to describe similar achievements is fortunately settled by a curious piece of information contained in one of their ancient popular songs:

> "Spring up, O well; sing ye unto it;
> The well, which the princes digged,
> Which the nobles of the people delved,
> With the scepter, and with their staves"
> (Num. 21: 17, 18.)

A well dug with a scepter or staff is evidently one dug with picks at the command of the ruler who holds the scepter and staff. Yet the finding of water at the needed moment and in the most unexpected place was a divine providence so marvelous that Kadesh-barnea was always thereafter remembered as the scene of God's

special manifestation. The waters may have been hidden in the cliff from the time of the earth's creation; but when at the command of Moses the limestone barrier was broken away, they poured forth in what still seems a miraculous stream.

Why did Moses strike the rock twice? Was it because he thought once was not enough? Did he not get enough water at the first trial and was this counted against him as lack of faith, so that for this sin he was kept out of the Holy Land (Num. 20:12)? At any rate there are two living springs, not one only, which even to this very day burst out from the mountain cliff at the northeast corner of this strange and beautiful garden of God. Such prodigality is not to be found anywhere else in this "great and terrible wilderness" (Deut. 1::19;8:15).

KADESH-BARNEA — WHY IT WAS LOST; HOW IT WAS FOUND: It seems incredible that one of the most sacred religious and historical sites of the ancient world should be practically lost to civilized man for nearly a thousand years and all the more incredible since in all the ten thousand square miles of the Sinaitic Peninsula only three or four other oases comparable to this in beauty and in the abundance of water are to be found. But the incredibility begins to disappear when we remember that even in the ancient time this was called Kades, "the Holy," and up to the present moment the spring is called the "Holy Fountain" by the population who wander about it.

For any one of the Bedouin of any tribe to show these sacred springs to an "unbeliever" would be an act of impiety and of disloyalty to his race. His superstition also protects his piety in this case, for all Christians are thought to be magicians and to posses incantations which affect the rainfall, so that showing this spring to a Christian or even mentioning it by its right name might tend to dry it up.

Besides this, the two tribes which from time immemorial have had immediate control of the territory adjoining these springs, the Teyaheh and Azazimeh, are distinguished among all the natives of Sinai for their fanaticism and ferocious antagonism to Christians. Professor Palmer, the first man to explore systematically the desert of Sinai, says of the Teyaheh that while the three virtues of all Arabs are eloquence, hospitality, and plundering, the members of this tribe have omitted from their ethical ideas the first two, through their unrivaled enthusiasm in successfully practising the third.

The Azazimeh are even more savage. They are "superstitious, violent, and jealous of intrusion upon their domain, suspecting all strangers of sinister designs upon their lives and property" (Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus,* ii. 291, 320, 403. 407). They are dreaded not by foreigners only but by all other Bedouin. It can almost literally be said that their hand is against every man and every man's hand is against them. When any two of these shake hands, each naturally holds

the hilt of his sword so as to be ready for any emergency should the other turn traitor (Palestine Exploration Fund, *Quarterly Statement*, Oct., 1911, p. 173.) These two tribes tenaciously resist any attempt on the part of any stranger to visit these springs, and this is not altogether unreasonable, since they are worth far more to them than a million-dollar gold-mine could be worth to a European community.

In spite of its dangerous associations, 'Ain Kadis was well known to the Christian geographers of the fourth century, and tho probably seldom visited continued to be known as the site of Kadesh-barnea even as late as the twelfth century. The fact that this was on none of the regular paths between Egypt and Palestine, but was surrounded by a terrific wilderness, would account for its dropping out of sight after Islam took possession of this part of the world. It should also be remembered that it was shut in by a wall of mountains from Palestine and Phoenicia and by another mountain range of "cyclopean architecture" from Moab and the East Jordan country, while it was hidden on the east and south by an unmapped and unpathed desert in which unnumbered caravans have perished and where even to the present year the dried skeletons of camels and the dried bodies of lost travelers are no very unusual sight.

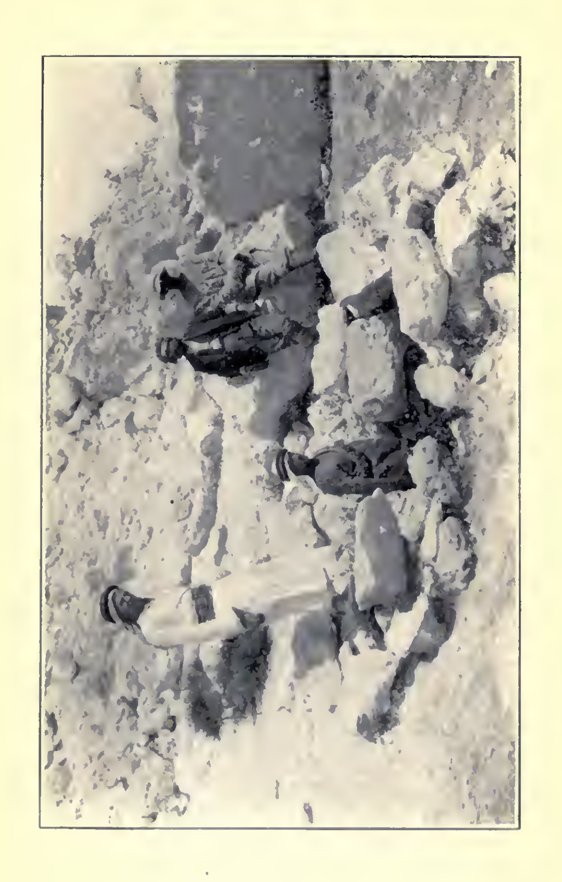
It is little wonder then that for more than half a millennium Kadesh-barnea disappeared

from the maps and was lost to the Christian world. It was the celebrated traveler Seetzen, killed later by the Mohammedans, who was the first European to look upon this little "lost world" springing up suddenly out of the sand as if brought into existence by the magic of some Aladdin's lamp. He stumbled upon it in 1807 during a wild and dangerous journey coming south from Hebron by the same route which we followed, but he did not discover its name nor recognize its importance; tho he did correctly locate the Wady el-Kadis (*Reisen* iii. 347-349).

The next man to visit this site was Rev. John Rowlands, the missionary, who had lived for thirty years among the Arabs and who on his way south from Gaza in 1842, as he stood upon the mountain ramparts which separates Palestine from this district, happened to hear an Arab speak of this oasis and point to it from a distance. When a little later he searched for the place and found it, he at once identified it as the celebrated camping place of the Israelites. He declares that when for the first time he saw the "small hill of solid rock, a spur of the mountain rising immediately above it, ... the only visible naked rock in the whole district," and realized that he was looking upon the very rock smitten by the wand of Moses, he was almost prostrated with excitement(Williams, *Holy City*, appendix). The claim of Mr. Rowlands was so sensational that few scholars accepted it. This doubt became positive disbelief after a



THE FRONTIER FORT GUARDING THE ENTRANCE INTO THE SINAITIC DESERT



number of scientific parties sought diligently for this phenomenal oasis and "holy spring" and failed to find them. Even Abdallah Effendi (Palmer), who had previously made a scientific survey of the peninsula, failed to find the place, as he acknowledged in 1881, tho he made the attempt several times, and on one journey (1870) thought he had reached it. President Bartlett of Dartmouth (1873) made such a thorough yet unsuccessful search that he, with others, came to the conclusion that the former description had been so colored by emotion as to be wholly unreliable.

It was Dr. Henry Clay Trumbull, editor of *The Sunday School Times,* who in 1881 proved Mr. Rowlands to have been a seer rather than a dreamer. One other white man, F. W. Holland, seems to have reached 'Ain Kadis a little earlier than he (Palestine Exploration Fund, *Quarterly Statement,* 1879, p. 69; 1884, p. 9), but the true rediscovery of this site in its important historical relations was due to Dr. Trumbull. It was through several conjunctions of good fortune that he reached the spot. He was refused an escort from En Nakhl to Hebron on the ground that only three caravans had succeeded in making the trip safely in twelve years. But partly because they hoped through him to bring more pilgrims to Castle Nakhl and partly because certain leading Bedouin wished to gain the assistance of this "Sheik of the editors" in getting some of their relatives out of a Jerusalem

prison, they finally agreed to this route. Then came another piece of good luck. One of the leading sheiks was off on a plundering expedition and the other was sick, so that the caravan was given in charge of the young sons of the two sheiks with Oudy, a shrewd old Moslem, as guide. It was not until long after they had started that Dr. Trumbull mentioned his desire to make a side trip in order to reach 'Ain Kadis. When this was mentioned, Oudy pretended never to have heard of such a spring, but Dr. Trumbull scorned and shamed him, saying: "You do not know your own country as well as I do. We ought to change places. You ought to give me backshish instead of my giving you any." Finally he succeeded in so provoking the guide that in anger and self-defense he acknowledged that there was such a spring in such and such a locality, but swore on the Koran that Dr. Trumbull did not know where it was, affirming that to attempt to reach it would mean to be robbed and murdered. Even after assent to the journey had been gained by judicious bribery and a strong appeal to Moslem pride, they almost missed the goal because of a sudden panic that seized the entire party of Arabs while they were crossing the lonely and demonic waste which lies along the border of the Azazimeh country. But at last, after he had almost given up the possibility of finding in such a desert water enough to fill their rapidly emptying goat skins, suddenly this strange, mysteriously hidden "garden of Al-

lah," which perhaps only three white men had seen before in seven centuries, blossomed out before him. Since Dr. Trumbull's researches Kadesh-barnea ('Ain Kadis) has been placed upon most modern biblical maps, tho neccessarily located somewhat by guess.

Many parties, previous to our own, had tried to visit once more this enchanting spot, but all failed, so far as reported, excepting those led by Professor George L. Robinson in 1900 and by Abdul Rahmin (W. E. Jennings-Bromley) at a date not given (*Biblical World,* xvii. 327 ff.; Protestant Exploration Fund, *Quarterly Statement,* April, 1910; Jan., 1912) and one by Nathaniel Schmidt.

Professor Robinson in attempting to make up a caravan found great difficulty, being told that no white man had even attempted to cross from Mt. Sinai to Kadesh-barnea since Palmer, eight years before, was killed on this route by the Teyaheh who owned the "sacred waters." The dragoman who finally consented to go refused to make a "covenant of blood" before starting, and when within four days' journey of the place tried to run away and escape from the contract. Several times during the trip Bedouin tried to intercept them, and once a war party of the Teyaheh came out against the intruders in great numbers; but the long oriental experience of the leader, the largeness of his escort, the shine of his gold, and his threats of vengeance by the Turkish government if his plans were thwarted finally pre-

vailed, and he was permitted for a brief space of time to look upon the "holy" spot which was legally taboo. He was the only visitor before us, so far as we knew, who took any photographs whatever. His brief fieldnotes, which were minutely accurate, were published in the *Biblical World* (vol. xvii). We have since found that Professor Schmidt also took a few views.

Abdul Rahmin risked much in order to make his explorations in this desert, traveling as a native Turk in Arab dress, tho a reward of one thousand dollars was placed upon his head by the Turkish government. He did not describe 'Ain Kadis, but his account of the habits of the Bedouin who wander about it is of substantial value (Palestine Exploration Fund, *Quarterly Statement,* Jan., 1912, p. 14; Apr., 1910, 140-144. It is entirely probable that a few other parties not reported in the archaeological journals may have visited this place.)

When we started for Kadesh-barnea we knew that many scientific parties since Trumbull's day had attempted to reach this oasis hidden in the "waste howling wilderness" (Deut. 32:10) and had failed (*e.g.,* E. L. Wilson *Century,* July, 1888). So far as we know only six parties in more than six centuries had ever reached the place and lived to report the fact.

We found that the ordinary methods of making up a caravan did not work easily. Every Bedoui was afraid to offend the savage Azazi-

meh, and it was well understood that no Arab guides could be procured. Finally through the agency of the Hamburg-American line at Jerusalem, I made up a party consisting of my former student, Rev. James Lane, an experienced Syrian dragoman, Joseph Nazzal, a cook or table waiter, and a dozen native town Arabs. Our camp equipage was of the simplest: a tent, blankets, canned goods, oranges—and insect powder! A few gaudy presents were added for the Bedouin and some chocolates for the Turkish officials on the border. As we intended to make a quick dash for the oasis, "like Peary did for the Pole," as one of our party humorously exprest it, we rode on Arab horses instead of camels, and altho we often criticized their speed, this was doubtless one reason of our final success. We knew it would be impossible without such government assistance as we could not command to get permission even to look from a distance at this holy place of the Moslems, so that our only hope lay in swiftness of march; for according to Bedouin law it is not robbery or murder but merely justice to tax or kill any one who enters this sovereign Moslem territory without a permit.

'Ain Kadis lies only five days' journey south of Jerusalem, but by the time we had finished one day and reached Hebron—near which are the wonderful vineyards of Eshcol still bearing their huge clusters of grapes—we had already entered a section of country where the popula-

tion was so fanatical that when we politely saluted a traveler with the customary "Peace!" he would reply with the suggestive and biting phrase: "Peace to believers!" Our next night's halt brought us to Bir es-Saba (Beersheba) on the edge of the Sinaitic desert, a village whose chief trade is in the trinkets and charms against the evil eye which appeal to the wild Bedouin. The most interesting sights here were the seven old wells, one of which Abraham certainly digged (Gen. 21:28-32), the ancient watering troughs near them, and the ruins of ancient Beersheba which have never yet been more than superficially excavated.

The two and a half days' journey south from this point lay most of it through the trackless desert. We found at several points extensive pre-Roman ruins. At Er-Ruhebe we had a mutiny in which our servants and the two soldiers whom we had as escort were all involved and which it took severe measures to check. One day we traveled until late at night without discovering any water by which to camp and when finally we reached a well we found its only opening plugged by an enormous rock, evidently to guard against its use by such men as ourselves. (cf. Gen. 29:10; Ex. 2:17.) It took hours to break a hole so that we could get a drink after the longest day of travel our Arabs had ever endured. After passing the frontier forts of Turkey and of Egypt, where a governor and some ten soldiers in each



THE PLAIN OF KADESH-BARNEA



ENTRANCE TO THE VALLEY OF AIN KADIS (KADESH-BARNEA)

case guard the mountain barrier which separates these two powers, just as doubtless frontier forts guarded the edge of the Edomite country in the days of the Exodus, we plunged into the final and most dangerous part of the adventure.

The soldiers could not accompany us, the native Arabs would not. We were forced to depend upon our general knowledge of direction and such chance scraps of information as we could get concerning the now seemingly mythical 'Ain Kadis. The heat became the most intense I have ever felt. There was not even a shrub or mound under which one could put his head in the middle of the day. The water skins grew so hot as to be uncomfortable to touch. The steaming water that always smelt and tasted of goat failed to satisfy. Of any desert water it may be said, "You can swallow it if you chew it well," but it is hard even to chew water full of goat hairs and other live things, smaller and worse. Our heads became dizzy and our conversation ceased. I for one could think of nothing but ice cream and cold lemonade.

The worst came when Mr. Lane, the dragoman, and myself, who were on swifter animals than the rest in order to make side excursions, got separated from the main caravan, having completely lost our bearings with no idea of the direction in which we might find our men and provisions. The desert is a big place to be lost in. One recent traveler, through this same Sinaitic desert, has just reported that in one

short journey he came upon two entire caravans lying dead upon the sands. The tongues protruding from tortured mouths proved that they had died of thirst, tho as he found later they were within a few miles of water. The monotony of the desert is such that once lost it is almost impossible for the traveler to recover his route, and if he misses it by a hair's breadth he misses the well, which to miss is certain death. In our case there was another danger, which for the time being was even more pressing, for we were in an enemy's country. I never saw a man more thoroughly frightened than the dragoman. He could only repeat over and over "The Azazimeh! the Azazimeh!! we shall be robbed and murdered!" After nearly killing our horses with furious riding, we at last came upon a member of the caravan who had been sent out to see what had become of *"Howadji."*

I think it was that same night that a little leopard no larger than a kitten strayed into the camp. Our Arab servants looked at it curiously, but presently carried it off in the direction from which it had come, fearing if we kept it as a guest we might also receive the visiting cards of the other members of the family before morning. This was almost the only wild creature that we saw excepting several gazelles, many scorpions, and some vipers, one of the latter coming altogether too close in its attempt to perform a surgical operation on my horse's ankle.

Crossing the great plain of Kadesh, which

is some three hours long by two wide, adjoining the sacred oasis, we saw many indications of what seemed ancient boundary walls suggesting that at some period this plain must have been used for agricultural purposes. Even the Bedouin do a little farming, raising small crops of barley occasionally, but all travelers crossing the Sinaitic desert have been struck by the many signs of a skill and patience in the construction of now ruined walls and buildings and of dams across the wadis to confine and utilize the water supply and of grain magazines and artificial terraces on the hills fitting them for agricultural purposes which can hardly be referred to the present population. It is, of course, possible that the boundary walls may be modern; yet it is hardly reasonable to suppose that the Azazimeh, the most barbarous of all the tribes, who do not even possess decent tents, should make such difficult provision for the division and permanent ownership of this plain of Kadesh for agricultural purposes. The modern Bedouin destroy but seldom construct. They would not and could not make or use some of the more complicated constructions which have been found in their country. Any contrivances to utilize the springs for agricultural purposes would necessarily be ancient, since no Bedouin anywhere would think of farming by artificial irrigation.

About two hours from our goal we passed a very large Bedouin camp, but fortunately the men were absent, probably on a marauding ex-

pidition, as they have no other business, and so we went on unquestioned. About an hour later we came upon some camels and goats grazing upon the dry shrubs in charge of an old Bedouin and a young boy.

Suddenly, without any warning of its proximity whatever, as we came near the range of mountains that for some hours had fronted us, we swept around a foot hill and there before us lay the object of our search. It was concealed behind the protecting hills and seemed to me to be somewhat sunken in the earth; at any rate, a traveler can come within five minutes of this hidden miracle without even suspecting its presence. The valley is no larger than an ordinary country garden in New England or the Middle West, yet it is such a garden as no Arab of the Sinaitic Peninsula ever saw elsewhere.

The first thing that draws the eye on entering the valley is the prominent rock or bare cliff called in the Bible "Meribah," from the base of which the famous stream still flows which according to Hebrew tradition first began its course over three thousand years ago at the command of Moses. There are really three springs with ten other places from which water bubbles out of the earth, though the latter probably all center in the head springs. What separates this from almost every other water supply in the Sinaitic Peninsula and makes it seem to the Arabs a magical or divine creation is that these are living fountains, not wells. They are near



POOL IN THE OASIS OF KADESH-BARNEA



THE ROCK WHICH WAS STRUCK BY MOSES AT KADESH-BARNEA ACCORDING TO THE BIBLE NARRATIVE

the surface and are of perpetual strength. If properly cared for the stream was sufficient to supply a small army with drink; our horses could wade in the stream up to their knees. In the ancient times when the Egyptians, among whom the Hebrew captain was trained, were accustomed to the mightiest engineering feats, it would have been an easy matter to utilize these springs with 'Ain el-Kudeirat and other near-by wells so that quite a satisfactory supply from a nomad's point of view would have been available for the commissariat department, providing the modern computation of the number of the Israelites be accepted. The present output is far more copious than that at the Wady Gharandal (Elim) and tho the supply at Wadi Feiran is much larger, the quality is not comparable to this. Indeed I doubt if anywhere on the earth better water can be found. It is as good as that from any country spring in Pennsylvania or Ohio.

The two most prominent springs were six feet deep and stoned up from the bottom with time-worn rocks, but the one nearest the cliff was dry. The suggestion was forced upon me on the spot that this upper dry spring which even yet sometimes contains water as was proved by Professor Robinson, was the original fountain the drying up of which caused the assembled hosts to become crazed with thirst and cry out against Moses and Jehovah. In that case these other two springs would have been brought to light when Moses struck the rock "twice" (Ex. 17:1-

7; Num. 20:7-13). At any rate there can be no doubt, this being Kadesh-barnea, as Bible scholars generally concede (*e.g.*, Hastings, *Bible Dictionary,* and *Encyclopaedia Biblica,* article "Kadesh"; Maspero, *History,* V. 279; *Biblical World,* xvii,) that one of these is the "En-Mishpat," "spring of judgment" (Gen. 14:7), by the side of which Moses administered justice.

I sat alone at noon under the shade of the two fig-trees which my Arab said no man had ever planted, and while the Syrian dragoman slept I looked about me and dreamed of the great events which had transpired here in the mystic, mighty past. And as I sat there I may have fallen aseep, for it seemed that the ghosts of the centuries rose up about me. I smelt oriental incense and saw blood sacrifices and heard weird chants and beheld passing over the sands a strange procession of priests in white robes and brave warriors with sharp weapons, and Arab sheiks riding on prancing chargers and lazy camels, and the ark of God was in the midst and Moses and Aaron doing great acts and speaking great words, for which the people may have cared little then, but which the world has never been able to forget. I heard the sound of Miriam's timbrel, and later the wailings of the congregation as they carried this first sweet singer of Israel to her tomb. I saw the new ritual of worship established and the daily drill by the "captains of hundreds and of fifties," and I heard the groaning of camels and the shrill whis-

tle of goat-herds and the confusion and babel of the camp, when at last after long hard years of waiting the order was given to once more take up the march toward the longed-for "land of milk and honey" (Num. 20:14-24). And just then I awoke and the tumult was a dream and all about me was the silence of peace; yet what I saw was even more wonderful than what I had dreamed.

The oasis is like a fairy-land. The sight of waving grass and gurgling water and the odor of flowers and hum of bees and flutter of birds seem impossible in this desolation. Yonder is a jagged chasm torn in the earth which may have been rift when Korah and his band were swallowed up as by the explosion of some subterranean mine (Num. 16). Probably within sight of this spot an Israelite was once sentenced to death for secretly gathering up a few sticks on the Sabbath day (Num. 15:32). That savage sentence takes on a new meaning here. Little wood can be seen now and little could be found then. A single stick must often have been worth more than a wedge of gold. The act was not only Sabbath desecration but was opposed to the general principles of democracy and fair play which lay at the root of the new Hebrew legislation.

Somewhere yonder among those mountains that border the plain Miriam was buried: it may have been yonder to the north in the "mountain of the Amorites" on that peak of limestone now

shining almost like pure marble, or it may have been on that other more majestic mountain, half a day's travel to the southwest, which from here looks almost startlingly like the funeral monuments (*mastabas*) erected by the primitive Egyptians above the sarcophagi of their most honored princesses.

It is no dream but a certainty that under the shadow of these hills mighty acts were performed and mighty words spoken that the world can never forget. This was the first place on the earth where the law of Moses was practically carried into effect. Here the new moral code including the Ten Commandments—which code now lies at the basis of the common law of all civilized lands—was for the first time administred, while on the plain surrounding these sacred springs even the agricultural laws could at least in part have been put into operation.

It fills me with awe to sit in this garden of God in the midst of the blistering desert and remember that this was the very spot mentioned in the Bible as the final rendezvous of all the tribes when the order came at last to advance and attack the country which some forty years before had beaten them back. When one considers the hubbub connected with the starting of an ordinary caravan, what calls and shouts must have echoed among these hills as this most famous migration in all history began! (The above are practically extracts from the writer's diary made on the spot.)

Leaving Kadesh-barnea we found the Bedouin gathering at the mouth of the valley, probably having been warned of our intrusion by the Arabs who had come to the oasis for water but they had not as yet arrived in sufficient numbers to prevent our departure. That no Arabs were living in the oasis is not surprising. They never camp even by the side of a well; they prefer privacy, and their camels would not eat green grass, having always been accustomed to the yellow desert shrubs.

We hurried back to Palestine going as we had come through the only pass in the mountain barrier near Kadesh. It was through this pass that the spies necessarily went on their way to Hebron, and it seems reasonable—since there is no evidence that modern Idumea extended farther west than its ancient predecessor (Trumbull, *Kadesh-barnea,* p. 104; *Bible Dictionary,* article "Edom")—that it was through this break in the mountains that the Israelites hoped to reach the Holy Land when they sent the embassy to the king of Edom asking for the privilege of passing through this territory. He refused and they did not attempt to storm the entrance; for, as we found, this pass is so narrow that it would have taken but a handful of Edomites to defend it against the whole Hebrew army, tho each Israelite had been as redoubtable as Caleb himself.

The only adventure on our return journey worthy of record took place between two and

three o'clock one morning after we had left the wild Azazimeh country and were a day's journey northwest from Beersheba. We were camped close to a well near the place from which Colonel Conder was once forced to fly because of a fight between the Arabs of two different districts in which seven hundred men were killed and wounded. We were sleeping the sleep of exhaustion, when thus early in the morning we were awakened by rifle shots and the whiz of bullets over our heads. As we fell hurriedly out of the tent we saw bonfires on the hills and large bodies of Arabs coming toward us from several directions. It turned out that they were not wasting all this martial preparation upon our little party but were gathering at this point in order to make an early attack the next morning on a neighboring village. The songs and war dances of that night will live in our memories forever. Fortunately they were so engrossed with the larger booty that they left raiding our tents until they should return in triumph the next day. Whether they were successful in their battle we never learned. Without waiting for breakfast we fled in the opposite direction as soon as the war party started at dawn toward their expected prey.

As a result of our expedition we obtained a number of inscriptions at Bir es-Saba, found an ancient Phoenician tomb at Beit Jibrin, and proved that even after four years of drouth the two springs at 'Ain Kadis still threw out an abun-



FIG-TREES AT 'AIN KADIS



ANOTHER LIVING SPRING AT KADESH-BARNEA

dance of water. Perhaps, however, the most important result was the connection which we were able to trace between the oasis of Kadesh-barnea and the celebrated hieroglyphic text given below in which the Israelites are mentioned for the first time in literature.

This famous inscription is on a stele of black granite over ten feet high and five feet wide which Merenptah, the traditional Pharaoh of the exodus, stole from Amenhotep III. and on the back of which this royal thief inscribed a long poem celebrating his victory over the Libyans and adding supplementally an account of his later campaign in Palestine.

The brief passage which speaks of Palestine reads as follows:

"Devasted is Tehanu (Libya); Kheta (Hittite land) is quieted; the Kanaan is seized with every evil, led away is Askelon, taken is Gezer, Ynuamam is brought to naught, the people of Israel is laid waste—their crops are not, Kharu (Palestine) has become as a widow by Egypt" (Petrie, *History of Egypt,* iii. 114).

This inscription must be dated somewhere between the fifth and nineteenth year of the reign of Merenptah (1229-1214 B. C.) The puzzle of the text has been great; for if Merenptah were the Pharaoh of the exodus—as was the very general decision of scholars up to the time when this text was found—then all the original documents of the exodus narrative agree in affirming that, at any date at which this text

could have been written, Israel had not yet reached Palestine but was sojourning in the desert of Sinai. Almost without exception scholars have taken it for granted that the newly found inscription locates Israel in Palestine. Because of this misapprehension Professor Petrie and others believe that it refers to some section of this people which had reached the Holy Land earlier than those whose fortunes are narrated in the Bible. Many Egyptologists, largely because of this text, seem now inclined to revise their earlier judgment and place the exodus in some reign before Merenptah (cf., *e. g., Journal of Biblical Literature,* xxxii. 35-37).

The writer believes that this puzzle may now be solved. It is perfectly evident that the short description of the Palestine campaign is really a postscript to the more important Libyan campaigns which had previously been cut into several monuments (*e.g.,* the Cairo column and the Athribis stele) without this later addition (see Breasted, *Ancient Records,* iii. 592-601). It seems equally plain that the mention of Israel may be regarded as a postcript to the Palestine campaign (Paton, in *Journal of Biblical Literature,* 1913, pp. 39-43). It is the final word of the entire inscription excepting one line of general reference and another line or two of eulogy to the king. The order of the campaign is also significant, Askelon being the first town definitely mentioned as captured by Merenptah, after which comes Gezer farther to the east and north,

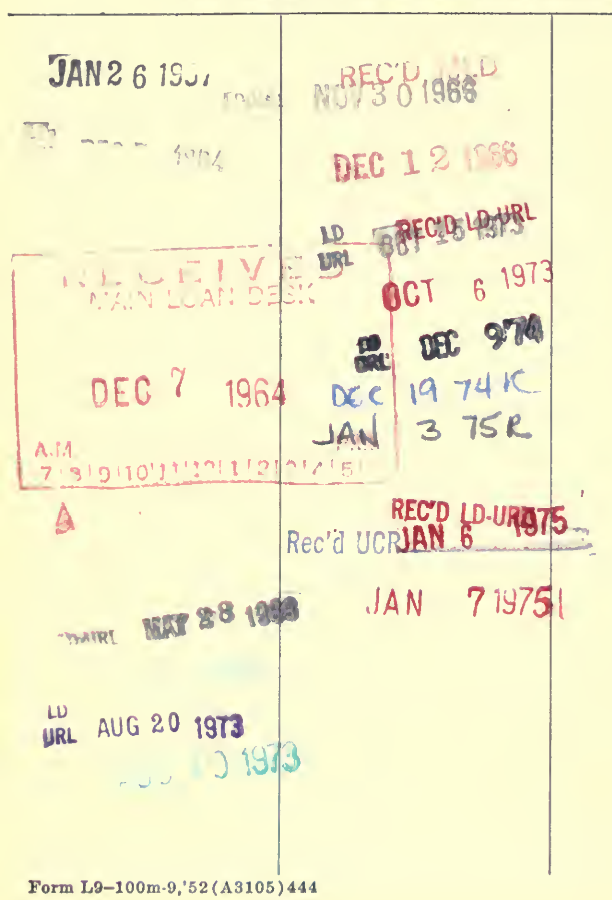
then Ynuamam, a town probably in North Palestine, and finally as the last detailed item of the campaign before the army returned to Egypt Israel is named, tho not as a captive whose city had been stormed, nor as a nation possessing a settled territory, but merely as a people possessing crops. The omission of the sign for country, which is joined both to the Libyans and Hittites, has long been recognized as significent (Sayce, *Academy*.)

Finally it ought to be remembered that the ancient roads leading from Palestine to Egypt were, because of the mountains and wells, inevitably similar to those followed now. The war party of Merenptah in going back to Egypt would necessarily have followed either the coast road past Askelon or the more central road through the grand pass, some five hours north of Kadesh-barnea, through which our own party returned to Palestine. If the Egyptian soldiers came down the latter road they would have been compelled to pass through the "crops" of the Israelites, since, as we found, that road runs through the Plain of Kadesh, which as we have seen above still shows signs of ancient cultivation and is only two and a half hours distant from the fountains of Kadesh-barnea.

To those who have seen the hiding places in the hills adjoining 'Ain Kadis there is a peculiar significance in the fact that the royal poet laureate does not declare that Israel was captured, as were the inhabitants of Askelon and Gezer, but

that they were merely devastated or ravaged by the destruction of their crops.

Thus may we see an exact and striking correspondence between the Bible history and the contemporary Egyptian text—a text written before any part of the Hebrew Bible was in existence in its present form.


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